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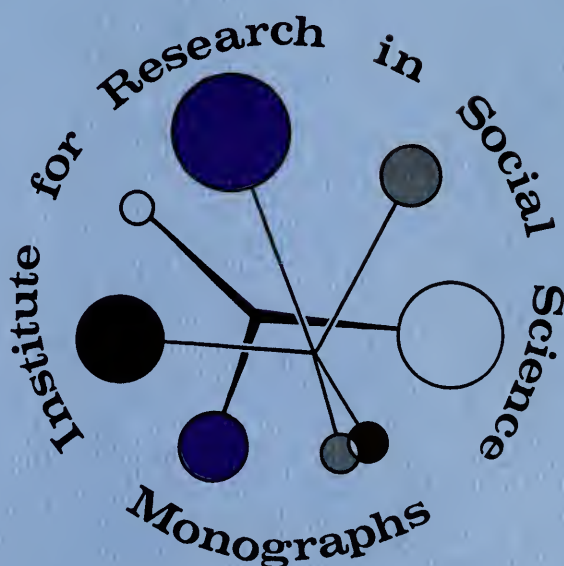


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# CHEROKEES AT THE CROSSROADS

JOHN GULICK





# Cherokees at the Crossroads



# Cherokees at the Crossroads

BY

JOHN GULICK

WITH AN EPILOGUE

BY

SHARLOTTE NEELY WILLIAMS

1973

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

CHAPEL HILL

1960

REVISED EDITION 1973

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*To the Memory of*  
CLYDE KAY MABEN KLUCKHOHN  
1905-1960  
Teacher of Anthropology  
Student and Friend of the American Indians





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## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This monograph is an attempt to draw together the findings of a study of the present-day ways of life of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. The project was sponsored by the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina and supported by funds granted by the Ford Foundation whose generosity is hereby acknowledged. The details of the project's design and implementation will be found in the Appendix at the end of the volume. The author was director of the project and as such drew up the over-all plan and enlisted the participation of ten other persons—mostly anthropologists—who conducted field research among the Eastern Cherokees from June, 1956 through August, 1958.

More often than not, anthropologists have conducted their studies among people who have not expected to see the results of the studies and rarely, if ever, have. This is not true in the present instance. This monograph will be available to any Eastern Cherokee who wants to read it. Furthermore, during our field research we were repeatedly asked not only what we wanted to know but why we wanted to know it and what we were going to do with the information after we had it. These questions were sometimes quite urgent, for it was made clear to us that so many outsiders had come to the Eastern Cherokee reservation to "make studies" that there would seem to be no purpose in another one. These questions were entirely justified, and we answered them as best we could when they arose. However, the time has come to make as final an answer as we can.

The table of contents conveys some idea of the range of subjects to which we gave our attention in studying the Cherokee way of life, or "culture", as anthropologists call it. One reason for our project was that in spite of all the "other studies" to which the Eastern Cherokees had been subjected, there has not been until now any written source from which one could get a reasonably fully rounded picture of what Eastern Cherokee culture is like. To be sure, there are reports of health and economic conditions, but these hardly convey a comprehensive picture. There are also many books and articles concerned with the old Cherokee culture, but these are generally most unsatisfactory as far as the present situation is concerned. Those dealing with Cherokee history often conclude the narrative with the Removal and then skip 120 years to the present, leaving

the reader with the impression that the present-day Cherokees must be the same as their ancestors were at the time of the Removal. A number of other studies—some of them by anthropologists—were conducted by gathering material on old Cherokee practices (such as dances, the ballgame, and the clan system) from elderly members of the Band. The reports of these studies too often leave the reader in doubt as to whether the practices still actually occurred at the time of the study, or in the elderly persons' youth, or whether the elderly persons were merely told about them by *their* elders, or whether they had read about them in early anthropological reports, such as those of James Mooney.

The need, then, was to study the present-day culture *as it is*, taking into appropriate account all practices, whether they appear to be old Cherokee ones or not; and to try to answer the question why the old and the new exist together and in what combinations they do so.

To the anthropologist, the description and analysis of a culture is reason enough for making a study. His aim is to understand human behavior in general and the behavior of particular people under particular circumstances. This was our aim in studying the Eastern Cherokees. We are, however, aware that this reason is often not convincing to those who are being studied. They often suspect, understandably enough, that the researchers are in their midst for the purpose of getting special information which is being sought by political or business organizations which have an ax to grind.

Our selection of topics for special study was guided entirely by the current research theories of the social sciences, chiefly those of anthropology, and our sole formal responsibility in this regard was to the Institute for Research in Social Science. No agency of the State of North Carolina or of the Government of the United States made demands at any time as to what we should or should not study. If such demands had been made, they would have been politely ignored. Similarly, the Ford Foundation at no time made any demands or suggestions. The project had no affiliation whatever with any of the religious, business, and public policy organizations which have special interests in Indian affairs generally or in the Eastern Cherokees particularly. The facts and theories in this monograph are not presented either for the purpose of supporting or weakening



the policies of any of these organizations. The presentation is entirely neutral in this regard, dictated only by the canons of social science.

The fact that our attitude is impartial does not mean, however, that we report *everything* that we saw and heard. For example, the Eastern Cherokees, like all groups, have their disagreements and controversies. These involve strong feelings and, often, misinformation. They also involve rumors about, and accusations against, individual persons. No material of this sort is included in this monograph. By the same token, no material is included which could cause malicious harm to any individual. This is not an exposé. Indeed, it is our humble hope that what we have to say may be generally helpful because it presents a new way of looking at a familiar situation.

A part of this familiar situation includes some conditions which may seem shameful to some people and certainly undesirable to most people. Various problems which claim the attention of welfare agencies are among such conditions. Since they are part of the general situation, we must take note of them, but in taking note of them we do not expose any secrets or betray any confidences. These are all demonstrable facts. We present them, however, not by themselves, but in connection with a total way of life, and we seek to understand why they occur in company with all the other aspects of life which are not shameful or undesirable. In doing this, we place no blame on any person or group. As a matter of fact, we could not do so even if we wished to. The more familiar we have become with Eastern Cherokee life, the more certain it has seemed to us that no one person, or group, or policy can be held responsible for such conditions. Once again, our aim is understanding, and understanding requires facing facts in a spirit of good will.

## 2.

The anthropologist is necessarily an intruder among the people whom he studies and with whom he lives. No matter how successfully he may achieve livable social relationships with them, he is at times inevitably a nuisance and a source of anxiety. Therefore his first acknowledgment is always to the hospitality and tolerance of his hosts. On behalf of the project, we are happy to make this acknowledgment to the Eastern Band of Cherokees generally. In addition, the writer wishes to

express his thanks to Commissioner Glenn L. Emmons of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and to Jarrett Blythe and Richard D. Butts who were Chief of the Eastern Band and Superintendent of the Reservation, respectively, during the period of the study. Their courtesies were much appreciated. The following members of the Band were of particular help to us: Mrs. Mollie Arneach, Robert Bigmeat, Roy Blankenship, Goliath George, Mrs. Lula Gloyne, Charles Hornbuckle, Ralph Owl, Wilbur Sequoyah, Mrs. Mary Sneed, and Edmund Youngbird. They have our hearty thanks for help which, at times, they may have thought was not appreciated as help. Among the employees of the Federal Government on the Cherokee Reservation, we wish to thank Mrs. Margaret Roper, Miss Flora Hood, Ralph Hatcliffe, and Dr. K. S. Dugan of the reservation hospital. In addition to these, we wish to acknowledge the various types of assistance afforded us by Commissioner Ellen T. Winston of the North Carolina State Board of Welfare, Harry Buchanan, Joe Jennings, Tom Underwood and Carol White. Many of the people whom we mention represent particular points of view about the affairs of the reservation. We hope that they, and others, will understand when we say that we endeavored to remain as neutral toward their points of view as we did toward those of others. Our neutrality in this regard has, however, nothing to do with our appreciation of the various kinds of assistance they gave us.

For their instrumentality in conceiving and initiating the project, we wish to acknowledge the contributions of Dr. Gordon W. Blackwell, at that time Director of the Institute for Research in Social Science and now Chancellor of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina; Professor John P. Gillin, then of the University of North Carolina and now of the University of Pittsburgh; and Professor John J. Honigmann of the University of North Carolina.

For stimulating discussions, advice, criticism, and direct assistance during various stages of the project we wish to thank the following colleagues: Charles Bowerman, Joffre Coe, Fred Gearing, John Honigmann, Madeline Kneberg, David Landy, T. M. N. Lewis, Harvey Smith, and John Witthoft. In addition, we thank Dr. Daniel O. Price, Director of the Institute for Research in Social Science, Dr. Katharine Jocher, Miss Ruth Searles, and Mrs. Frances Schnibben and her staff for their



care in the administration of the project and the preparation of manuscripts. We also wish to express our appreciation to Mrs. Louis G. Welt for her editing of this manuscript for publication and to Miss Jeanette Lamoureaux for redrawing the maps and figures. Mrs. Catherine M. Maybury, Librarian of the Institute of Government of the University of North Carolina, was of great assistance in our search of the North Carolina legal code for enactments relevant to the Cherokees.

We are indebted to the kindness of Harvard University Press for their permission to quote material from *The Structure of a Moral Code* by John Ladd.

Lastly, we wish to point out that this monograph is the product of the work of the other participants in the research as much as it is that of the author. Most of the data which are used herein were gathered by them—sometimes, to be sure, at the author's insistence, but more often on their own initiative and in pursuit of their own individual interests. Some of the theoretical interpretations are also theirs. We have endeavored to give specific credit to them in every case, but we wish also to thank them for all their contributions. This monograph is, however, both less and more than a summary of their work. It is less in the sense that much of their material is not used; the main body of their material is theirs to set forth in their own ways. It is more than a summary of their work in that the over-all theoretical interpretation and a number of recombinations of data are those of the author; it is the synthesis and fruition of the project which stems from the original design as conceived by him.

During December, 1959 and January, 1960 a copy of the manuscript of this monograph was made available to Mr. Osley B. Saunooke, Chief of the Eastern Band; Mr. Woodrow Welch, Chairman of the Tribal Council; Mr. Darrel Fleming, Superintendent of the Reservation; Mrs. Mollie Arneach, member of the Eastern Band; Mrs. Margaret Roper, Public Health nurse; and Miss Evanell Thomasson, federal welfare worker, Comments arising from their perusal were appreciated, and cognizance of them has been taken in the published version.



## REVISED EDITION

There has been a moderate but steady demand for copies of *Cherokees at the Crossroads* since its publication in 1960. In 1972, the original edition went out of print for the second time, and in the same year we received an inquiry from a publisher exploring the possibility of making the book available for a commercial edition. (There had been another such inquiry a couple of years earlier, and there was a third one in 1973.)

After various consultations, it was decided that a commercial edition would be inadvisable, and that the Institute for Research in Social Science, instead of simply reprinting the original edition again, should publish a revised edition that would in some measure recognize the changes that have taken place among the Eastern Cherokees since the late 1950's. Not only have there been such changes, evident even to a casual observer, but the intervening period has also been one of momentous events in the history of the American Indians generally.

In deciding on the contents of the revised edition, we knew that certain options were not open to us. One of these would have been a complete revision of the 1960 text, based on systematic studies done since 1960. None of the persons who did field work as part of the Cross-Cultural Laboratory project has in fact done subsequent field work among the Eastern Cherokees on a sufficiently systematic or sustained basis for such a revision. Another option would have been a revised edition based on a special re-study in the field which might, for example, focus on the outcome of various trends of change that were noted in the studies of the 1950's, or which might focus on testing hypotheses generated particularly out of Part III for the purpose of predicting the behavior of various Eastern Cherokees in connection with the many new situations and opportunities that have come into the Eastern Cherokee environment since 1960. While such re-studies might be highly desirable, we were not in a position either to commission them or to await their completion.

The option that we did choose was to leave the original 1960 text intact but to add to it a new chapter that discusses changes that have occurred among the Eastern Cherokee since 1960, making specific references to the original text wherever possible and appropriate. This new chapter—Epilogue: Cherokees at the Crossroads, 1973—is written by Sharlotte Neely Williams.

Sharlotte Williams is well qualified to undertake such a task. In 1971, she submitted to the Department of Anthropology of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill a thesis for the M.A. degree entitled, "The Role of Formal Education among the Eastern Cherokee Indians, 1880-1971." In doing research for this thesis, she not only read voluminously, but she also visited the Eastern Cherokee reservation in order to interview various persons there. In 1972, I recommended to an anthropologist, Wendell H. Oswalt, who was revising his textbook on American Indians using *Cherokees at the Crossroads* as one of his sources, that he consult with Sharlotte Williams in regard to any updating of *Crossroads* which she might suggest. He did, and he has subsequently acknowledged her contribution in *This Land Was Theirs* (New York: Wiley, 1973; 2d ed.). At the 1972 meetings of the American Anthropological Association, she also presented a paper on community involvement in local schools among the Cherokees. In 1973, she began intensive field work among the Eastern Cherokees, living in one of the communities that did not receive very much attention in the Cross-Cultural Laboratory's research in the 1950's.

In preparing for her field work, Sharlotte Williams carefully and successfully sought the clearance of a number of members of the Eastern Band. Social scientists cannot too often acknowledge their gratitude to those of their fellow human beings whom they choose to study and who are willing to allow themselves to be studied. We must continually remind ourselves that our ultimate purpose—very difficult to achieve—is greater understanding of the human condition in general and as it manifests itself in particular cases. It is in this spirit that the original edition of *Cherokees at the Crossroads* was offered, and in which this revised edition, also, is offered.

Seeing that this is a revised edition, readers should be very careful to realize that the revision consists entirely of the addition of the Epilogue by Sharlotte Neely Williams. The remainder of the book—text, appendices, and bibliography—is reprinted, without change, from the 1960 edition.

JOHN GULICK

Chapel Hill, North Carolina  
June 1973

PART I

THE CHEROKEE RESERVATION: ITS NATURE  
AND HISTORY



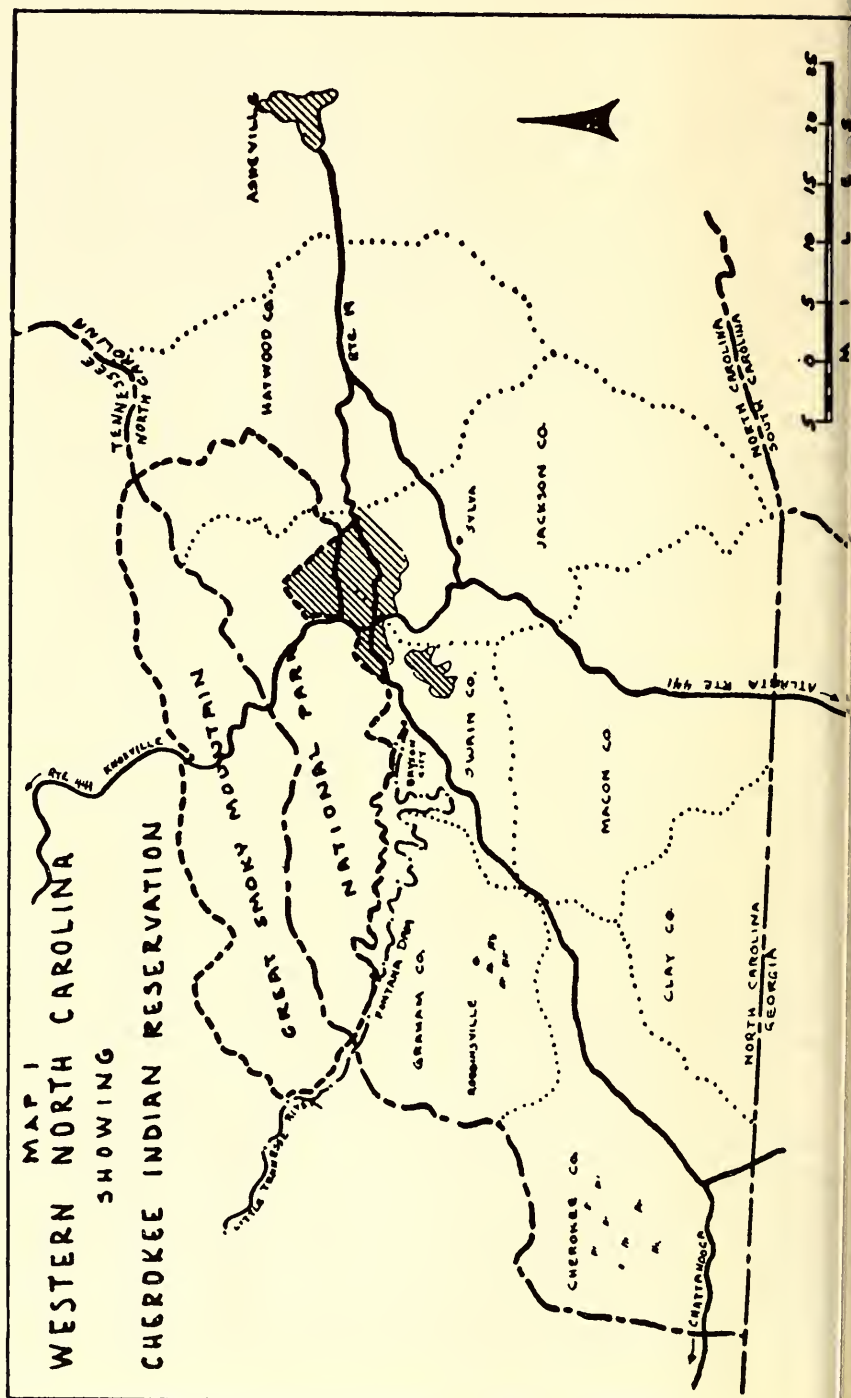
## CHAPTER I THE CROSSROADS

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Fifty miles west of Asheville, North Carolina, there is an important crossroads. Here, along the banks of the Oconaluftee River, travelers from Atlanta to Knoxville on U. S. Highway 441 meet travelers from Asheville to Chattanooga on U. S. Highway 19. For several hundred yards the two routes form one and the same road, and then each goes its own way again, westward and northward.

Clustered around this crossroads is the settlement of Cherokee which is the official and commercial center of the reservation of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. It is estimated that every summer over 2,000,000 automobiles, mostly from the Southeastern, East Central, and Southern Middle Atlantic states, pass through Cherokee. For the most part, they carry families on vacation or holiday who are attracted by the beauties of nature (specially protected in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park) and the presence of Indians. These two attractions were on the scene long before the very recent and rapid development of automotive tourism. Tourist interest has stimulated the installation of other attractions, such as a large number of souvenir shops, frontier and Indian museums, frontier and Indian model settlements, and the outdoor dramas at Cherokee and Gatlinburg. Served by an ever-growing number of motels, service stations, and eating places, the tourist is constantly and variously reminded of the frontier culture of Boone and Jackson and of the Indians whose long, losing struggle against the inroads of that culture is featured in both of the outdoor dramas. Yet while the frontier culture has long since been a thing of the past, replaced by mechanized farming and an industrialism which makes tourism itself possible, the Indians are still there. As people, what are they like, and why?

The millions of Americans who may have wondered about the answers to such questions while observing life along the confluence of Routes 441 and 19 may well have become more confused than enlightened. This short stretch of highway is flanked on both sides by restaurants, service stations, and a score of souvenir shops. Every souvenir shop has, as a sort of greeter, a man wearing a full feather war bonnet and other regalia. For a fee he will pose for photographs, perhaps alongside a totem pole or a tipi. Inside the shop one's purchase may





be negotiated with an efficient, smartly dressed woman. Outside the shop a teenaged bobbysoxer sips a coke while chatting about baseball with some boys in a late-model car whose motor is being checked by a uniformed attendant. Sitting outside the bus station nursing her baby is a young woman dressed in cotton print, her hair wrapped in a kerchief. Beside her stands a similarly dressed woman carrying on her back a baby supported in a large cloth whose corners are secured around her waist and over her shoulders. The tonal cadences of their quiet conversation yield no meaning to the tourist, for in fact they are not speaking English.

Indians all! Whatever they are like as people, they would appear not all to be the same. Why? Perhaps some of what has been seen is a show, a facade. Guides at the reconstructed eighteenth century Cherokee village a couple of miles north on Route 441 have set many a tourist straight on at least part of this score: Cherokees do not now, and never did, wear feather war bonnets, carve totem poles or live in tipis. Furthermore, most of the Indian souvenirs for sale were not made by local Cherokees and many were not made by Indians at all. To many Americans, items such as these—their originals derived from several different Indian cultures—have become symbols of Indianness generally; and therefore present-day Indians who wish to continue to be identified as Indians, as many of them do, find it convenient (as well as financially profitable) to display such symbols even if they were not originally part of their own particular tradition. The situation is very much the same everywhere in the United States where Indians meet tourists (48, pp. 145-46).

Having disposed of this matter, the question still remains unanswered: what are the Cherokees like as people? The teenagers, the saleslady, the attendant and the young mothers are, none of them, on show. They appear to be quite at ease in their own routines. In them there are real clues to the answer to our question. And in the dissimilarities among these people one perhaps senses that they are at a crossroads in more than the literal sense, that while they are together in one place and at one time, their ways of life are leading in different directions. What are these different directions? Whence do they come, and where do they lead? How divergent are they?

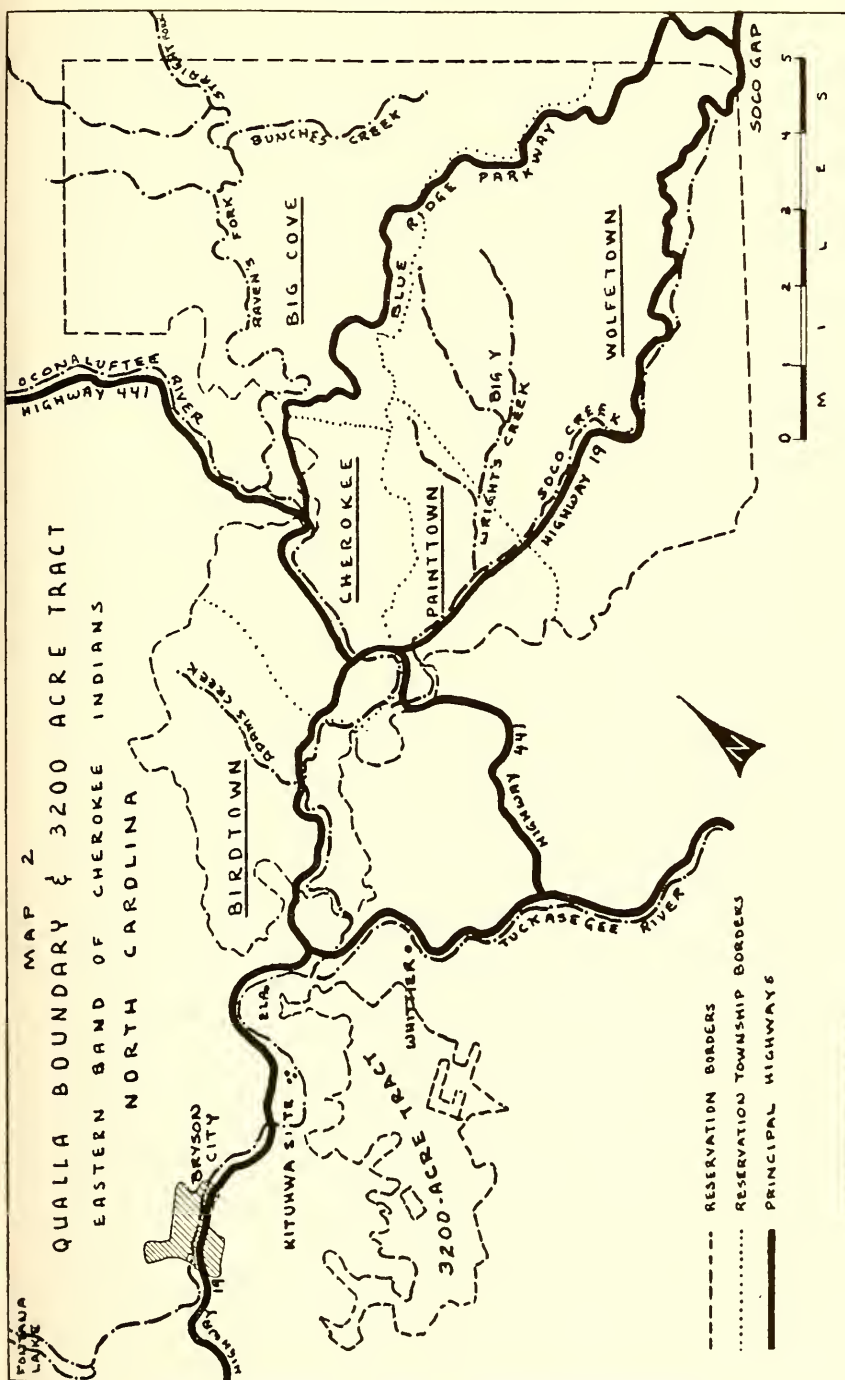
Superficial observation may raise such questions, but it cannot possibly answer them. Yet in our quest for answers, we

must begin with what is readily to be seen and heard, and in the remainder of this Chapter we shall begin by placing the crossroads at Cherokee Village in its general physical context.

## 2. THE LAND

Forested mountains, mountain streams, and narrow bottom lands—these form the basic natural environment of the Eastern Cherokees. The Oconaluftee River rises at an elevation of about 5000 feet just below Newfound Gap in the Great Smoky Mountains. Flowing southeastward for about seven miles, its course next turns more or less directly southward for about five miles, and then it turns westward. At all points one is impressed by the river's enclosure by mountains; but after its southward turn, this impression is increasingly weakened—though never dispelled, by the appearance of sections of bottom land through which the stream intermittently flows. About halfway in its southward course, and at an elevation of about 2000 feet, the Oconaluftee is joined by the Raven's Fork, flowing in from the northeast, and at the point where it turns westward, it is joined by Soco Creek, flowing from the east. About four miles below the confluence with Soco Creek, the Oconaluftee itself becomes a tributary and flows into the west-bound Tuckasegee River which feeds the lake formed by Fontana Dam, a part of the TVA system.

The Qualla Boundary, which is the main section of the Cherokee Reservation, consists of the Raven's Fork and Soco Creek drainage areas plus a portion of the land which flanks the Oconaluftee between Soco Creek and the Tuckasegee. The area of the Qualla Boundary is 43,554 acres, about 80 per cent of which consists of forested mountain slopes. The remainder is bottom land, whose most important sections are: (1) Big Cove (elevation about 2500 ft.), along the upper course of Raven's Fork; (2) Soco Valley (elevation about 2200 ft.), which extends, east-west, for several miles along Soco Creek; (3) Sections along the Oconaluftee immediately north of the confluence of Soco Creek; and (4) Sections along the Oconaluftee immediately southwest of the Soco Creek confluence. The elevations of the last two sections range from about 2000 to about 1700 feet. Of the numerous smaller tributaries, the most important are Wright's Creek and Goose and Adams Creeks. Wright's Creek rises in the mountain mass in the angle between Big Cove and Soco Creek and flows southwestward into the latter.



Goose and Adams Creeks flow southward into the western section of the Oconaluftee.

The population of the Qualla Boundary is concentrated in the four bottom land areas, although there are many families who live along the subsidiary streams. The Qualla Boundary is divided into five townships, and it is significant that each of these has a bottom land nucleus. The nucleus of Big Cove township is Big Cove. Wolfetown extends north and south from the eastern (upstream) section of Soco Valley, and Painttown, similarly, from the western section of Soco Valley. Cherokee Village (officially Yellow Hill township but rarely referred to by this name) includes the northern Oconaluftee bottom lands; and Birdtown is centered in the western Oconaluftee, Goose and Adams Creek bottom lands. Just as gravity and topography draw the mountain waters into the southwestern extremity of the reservation, so human activity seems to be concentrated there. Birdtown is the most populous of all the townships—about 900 persons (22, p. 55)—though one of the smallest in area. Cherokee Village's importance has already been noted, and the center of Painttown is very close to the Cherokee Village settlement. Wolfetown and especially Big Cove thus occupy more peripheral positions.

The Qualla Boundary does not comprise the entire reservation. Immediately south of the Tuckasegee-Oconaluftee confluence, there is a 3200-acre mountainous ridge (the 3200-Acre Tract) where about fifteen families live. Politically, these people are counted as part of Birdtown, but the tract is not, strictly speaking, a part of the Qualla Boundary. About 50 miles west of Cherokee Village, in the neighborhood of Robbinsville, there is a group of 23 tracts of land, ranging from 35 to 312 acres and totaling 2,249 acres. This land constitutes the Snowbird township, the sixth and smallest of the formal townships into which the reservation is divided. About 80 miles west of Cherokee Village, in Cherokee County, the extreme westernmost county in North Carolina, there are 26 scattered tracts totaling 5,571 acres which are also part of the reservation, but these Cherokee County tracts are not organized as a township.

The total area of the reservation is 56,574 acres, of which 48,754 are concentrated in the Qualla Boundary and the 3200-Acre Tract combined. The research of the Cross-Cultural Laboratory was carried out entirely in this main section in which



live about 3000 of the total 3300 population of the reservation. No contacts whatever were made with people living in Cherokee County, and only a few casual visits were made to Snowbird. The lack of systematically gathered material from Snowbird is regrettable, for the people of Snowbird are reported to include a larger number of persons whom we shall later define and describe as "Conservatives." Also, Snowbird's economy has been far less affected by the tourist business than has that of the Qualla Boundary.

## CHAPTER II ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES AND THEIR HISTORY

### 1. INSTITUTIONS

The reservation lies entirely within the boundaries of the state of North Carolina, but it consists of portions of four different counties. As mentioned above, Cherokee County contains several unorganized tracts; Snowbird is in Graham County, and the Qualla Boundary is divided between two counties—Swain in which are Birdtown, Cherokee Village and Big Cove, and Jackson in which are Painttown and Wolfetown. Cutting across these political divisions is the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians which owns all the Indian lands which in turn are held in trust by the United States Government, locally represented by the Cherokee Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The complexity implied by the existence of these institutions may be illustrated by the fact that the Band, the Agency, and the counties—representing, in this instance, the State—each administers its own welfare program.

The importance of the federal government in this structure deserves special note. Indicative of its importance, to begin with, is its physical plant. The compound of federal buildings extends for about one mile along Highway 441, north of the crossroads at Cherokee Village. It contains an administration building, a hospital, a nurses' residence, several school buildings, a number of houses occupied by Agency employees, and other structures. In addition, the Federal Government maintains school buildings and teachers' quarters in Big Cove, Birdtown, Snowbird and Wolfetown.

It is by virtue of federal trusteeship of the land of the Eastern Band that its inalienability is guaranteed and that the Eastern Cherokees are not subject to land taxes (although they

are subject to income taxes). The federal Agency is responsible for conservation and agricultural extension activities, and it constitutes the educational system of the Eastern Band. During 1956-57, 861 pupils were enrolled in this system, of whom 493 went to classes in the Agency compound (219 children from Cherokee Village, Birdtown and Painttown, in the elementary school; 274 children from all over the Reservation in the high school), while the remainder attended classes in the four other elementary schools. Although the great majority of children living on the reservation attend the federal schools, there are a considerable number who, for various reasons, go to schools off the reservation ("public" schools in local parlance, as distinct from the reservation schools). During 1951-52, the number of children attending off-reservation schools was estimated to be 77 (31, p. 5). During 1957-58, 118 children attended off-reservation educational institutions, nearly all of which were neighboring public schools. Ninety-three of these children had  $\frac{1}{4}$  or more degree of Indian inheritance; 25 had less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  (Source: Cherokee Indian Agency).

Despite the number of children going to school off the reservation, the existence of the federal school system is a factor of major importance in the affairs of the Eastern Band.

Health services constitute another important function of the federal government, centered in the Agency compound, although they are no longer under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs but rather of the United States Public Health Service. On the curative side, these services are centered in the reservation hospital. On the preventive side, they include: (1) the work of an Indian sanitary aide who, since 1955, has been active all over the reservation, spraying, encouraging the installation of sanitary privies and water sources, and the like; and (2) the varied services of a public health nurse (6, p. 16). The latter is employed under contract between the USPHS and the North Carolina State Board of Health—another example, incidentally, of the administrative complexity of the situation.

Despite the pervasiveness of its functions and the fact that it provides full-time employment for 50 to 60 members of the Band (6, p. 11), the federal government, even in the form of its local agencies, is institutionally external to the Eastern Cherokees. This is by no means true, however, of the other all-inclusive institution, the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, a corporation under the laws of North Carolina. While the Fed-

eral Government is trustee of the Eastern Cherokees' land, ownership of it is actually vested in the Band. Membership in the Band, determined chiefly by degree of Indian inheritance, means, in effect, a share in the assets of the Band, including land. No individual owns any land in fee simple; rather, by sanction of the legislative body of the Band (the Tribal Council), he has possessory rights to portions of it. Theoretically, on the death of a member, the land to which he had possessory rights reverts to the Band. In actual practice, sections of land have in many cases been occupied by the same family over a number of generations. Since the member does not own the land he possesses, he cannot sell it. With the approval of the Council, however, he can negotiate leases and trades. Leases to non-members of the Band (an important issue especially in the case of parcels of land abutting the main highways) are strictly supervised by the Council and are currently limited to 25 years. The understandable tendency of members to regard as theirs the land to which they have possessory rights, coupled with the fact that the boundaries of possessory parcels are usually rather indefinite, results, among other things, in many disputes over land which must be adjudicated by the Council. The seriousness of such problems is indicated by the fact that one of the stated major projects of the current (1959) Council is an accurate survey of holdings and the formulation of an effective land code (8, p. 25).

The identity of the Eastern Cherokees as a group inheres in the existence of the Eastern Band. Its officers include a Chief and a Vice-Chief, elected every four years, and the Tribal Council which consists of two members from each township, elected every two years. Legally the townships have no other function than that of being voting constituencies of the Council members. The fact that there is a school in all but one of the townships is not related to the legal status of the townships as such, but rather to the concentrations of population which, as has been pointed out before, center in bottom land areas, sections of which are to be found in each township.

Among the routine responsibilities of the Chief and Council are the following:

1. Adjudication of land disputes.
2. Decisions concerning leases and land use.
3. Maintenance of law and order by means of a small police force.

4. Disbursal of funds to members in the form of welfare payments (mostly in cases pending before county welfare boards), loans, funeral expenses, scholarships, prizes for agricultural exhibits, etc.
5. Operation of the Tribal Enterprise (Boundary Tree Motel).

Concerning many of the details arising in such matters, the Chief's and Council's decisions are final, but it is important to note that some of their actions require the approval of the Federal Government, either in the person of the resident superintendent or from higher authorities in Washington. For example, decisions concerning qualifications for membership in the Band—a long-term policy issue of central importance—are within the province of the Council, but they cannot become effective without Federal approval. The revenues of the Band are derived principally from a levy on business establishments (mostly those connected with tourism) located on leased land. In 1955, for example, income from this source amounted to \$20,174.84 (6, p. 9, 10), approximately 80 per cent of the funds received in that year.

One other dimension of the Eastern Cherokees' administrative structure needs, at this point, to be mentioned. The traveler along the highways of the reservation will periodically pass signs reading, "Welcome to — Community," or "Leaving — Community, Come Again"; and he may discover that the names of these communities seem to coincide with those of the townships. Actually, similar signs are commonly encountered in surrounding non-Indian areas, and their appearance on the Cherokee Reservation is a reflection of the Community Development Club movement which is widespread in Southeastern rural areas. Among the Cherokees, the idea was officially introduced after World War II by personnel of the Indian Agency. Agency personnel have continued to take an active part in the clubs' affairs, the Council has given its support to them, and their interests—related broadly to education for improved productivity and health—dovetail at various points with those of the other institutions whose authority has been legally established. In other words, their interests are public rather than private. Thus for a combination of reasons, the community clubs can be looked upon as being at least quasi-official bodies, although, unlike the counties, the Agency, and the Chief and Council, no formal authority is vested in them.



With two exceptions, each club coincides with a township. One exception is the Big Y Community Club, located upstream on Wright's Creek in territory which is part of Wolfetown; but there is also a Wolfetown (more commonly referred to as "Soco") Community Club. The other exception is the community club in the 3200-Acre Tract, in addition to that of Birdtown proper. Therefore, while there are six townships, there are eight community clubs. In general, the clubs hold their meetings in the local school buildings, but here again there are exceptions. In Painttown, where there is no school building, a special community club building was erected, and the Big Y Community Club uses a former church building.

## 2. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Though it is not in our interest to consider in greater detail the functions and interrelationships of the administrative institutions in which the Eastern Cherokees are involved, consideration of some historical perspectives on the matter are in order. Later we shall review Cherokee history, and then for the purpose of understanding the development of present-day attitudes, values, and ways of life in general.

The land now owned by the Eastern Cherokees is a very small part of the vast territory which was occupied by the Cherokees before the advent of the white man. However, although one of the important aboriginal towns, Kituhwa, was located in the large bottom land immediately west of the 3200-Acre Tract, the aboriginal population was mainly located further west and southwest in less mountainous territory.

Pressures on Cherokee lands by the southeastern British colonists began early in the eighteenth century, leading to the Cherokees' siding with the French in the French and Indian War and resulting in great destruction and ultimate loss of their best territories in Kentucky and Tennessee.

This, however, was but a prelude to the disasters which began with and followed the Revolutionary War in which the Cherokees, on the basis of previous experience, sided with the Crown against the colonists. During 1776-77 a four-pronged attack was made against them, the one from North Carolina, led by General Rutherford, destroying the towns and fields in the area of the present reservation, and then moving west. The Indians fled to the mountains, and most of the towns were never rebuilt—at least never in their aboriginal form. Despite various

treaties and cessions of land, the active struggle continued until 1796. Thereafter the resistance of the Cherokees as a whole seems to have become a passive one.

In spite of the shattering effects of war and general dislocation, the Cherokees were, around 1800, still in recognized possession of some 43,000 square miles of land, about half of it in Tennessee and the rest in adjacent portions of northern Georgia, northern Alabama, and western North Carolina (including the lands of the present reservation). Within this area the Cherokees began (not without dissident voices) a process of recovery and reconstitution, not along aboriginal lines, but by adopting certain economic and political procedures of the whites. It was in consequence of this that the Cherokees began to be known and to consider themselves as one of the "Civilized Tribes." Early in the 1800's the Cherokee National Council was formed; and in 1820 the Cherokee Nation, a republican government with a legislature consisting of 32 representatives (4 from each of 8 districts) was established with its capital at New Echota, near Calhoun, Georgia.

However, the obvious borrowings from the culture of the whites involved in these developments did not imply any desire on the part of the Cherokees to become culturally indistinguishable from the whites. Warfare having failed, the Cherokees' aim was to accommodate themselves to the ways of the whites only in such a manner as would peacefully preserve their independence. Indicative of this spirit of independence was the retention of the Cherokee language, officially as well as unofficially, and most especially, Sequoyah's invention of a syllabary in which the language could be written and printed. Also indicative, though in a different way, was the Cherokee support of Jackson against the Creeks, a traditional enemy, in 1814.

All the while, however, the whites pressed for partial or total cessions of land. As early as 1803, President Jefferson suggested the removal of all southeastern Indians to regions west of the Mississippi. In 1804 an additional cession of land was made. In 1817 a party of Cherokees did remove to Arkansas. It is significant that these were particularly conservative persons, in general opposed to the changes being made by other Cherokees. Among the latter, at this time, a group of 37 chiefs signed a document saying that while they wished to remain in their homeland, they did not intend to revert entirely to ab-

original ways (29, p. 108). In 1818 Governor McMinn of Georgia offered the Cherokees \$100,000 in return for immediate and complete emigration from his state. They refused (29, p. 107).

In 1819, another large cession of land was made, and this included the territory of the present reservation. While many of the Cherokees previously living in this area moved out into the remaining Indian-held lands, a few did not. Among these were the followers of the very conservative peace-chief, Yonahgunski, who, as a reward for his having been a signer of the 1819 treaty, was allowed a 640-acre tract at the old Kituhwa site. Another such tract was set aside for Big Bear (also a signer) at the mouth of Soco Creek. Sometime between 1819 and 1838, Yonahgunski and his followers abandoned the Kituhwa tract and moved to the Soco one where Yonahgunski built an old-style townhouse (29, p. 162). In general, these people were not only peripheral to the whites but also to the developments in the new Cherokee Nation, now centered in northern Georgia.

In 1825 the native Cherokee population of the Nation was counted at 13,563, plus 147 white men married to Cherokees and 73 white women married to Cherokees (29, p. 112). No less than 1,277 Negro slaves were reported as being owned by Cherokees, an indication of the degree to which some members of the Nation had adapted themselves to certain aspects of the culture of the whites. As late as 1828, a conservative movement, led by White-Path, for complete return to the old culture was attempted without success (29, p. 113).

Two other events in the year 1828 were of more lasting consequence: the discovery of gold in northern Georgia and the election of Jackson to the presidency. The former led to the passing of laws denying nearly all rights of Indians in Georgia, while the latter established in Washington an unswerving policy for the removal of Indians to tracts west of the Mississippi.

In 1835 certain Cherokees signed an agreement with government agents, according to which they would move to Oklahoma in return for the provision of land there and the payment of \$5,000,000. However, though the government chose to regard this agreement as binding on all Cherokees, it had not been negotiated by the officials of the Nation, and the majority refused to accept it. Two uneasy years followed until 1838, when the Federal Government resorted to force. General Winfield

Scott, in command of 7000 troops, rounded up the entire Cherokee population into stockades, preparatory to removal. Having renounced warfare as a policy, the Cherokee Nation was unable to resist actively. However, a number of Cherokees, particularly in peripheral areas such as that along the Oconaluftee, either eluded capture altogether or escaped from capture before or during the Removal. The forced march to Oklahoma began in October, 1838 and ended in March, 1839, and probably over a quarter of the 14,000 Cherokees who started out died on the way.

It is with the approximately 1000 fugitives who remained behind, "principally of the mountain Cherokee of North Carolina, the purest-blooded and most conservative of the nation" (29, p. 157), that the history of the Eastern Band, specifically, comes into focus. Present-day Eastern Cherokees remain very conscious of the fact that events surrounding the Removal brought them as a society into being. Many of the older ones remember vividly the stories of grandparents and others who personally experienced the episode. Later we shall explore further our belief that the circumstances of their origin as a group constitute an important factor in their social definition of themselves.

The beginnings were not auspicious. Most of the fugitives—technically outlaws—were in hiding in an area where for the previous 30 years they had been living on the outskirts of white settlements. However, Yonahgunski's townhouse still stood on Soco Creek, and he died there in 1839. His place as *de facto* leader of the scattered Cherokees was taken by a white man, William H. Thomas (1805-1893), who since 1817 had been living in the Soco area where he was a trader.

Thomas's first step was to secure the legal right of the fugitive Cherokees to remain in North Carolina. This he succeeded in doing in 1842; and as agent for the Indians, he was given the disposal of money due to them in return for the confiscation of their property. With these funds he began to buy up tracts of land from white settlers on which the Cherokees could establish themselves, and he continued to do so until 1861. Of one very important part of this process Mooney (29, p. 161) writes

In his capacity as agent for the eastern Cherokee, he laid off the lands purchased for them into five districts or 'towns', which he named Bird Town, Paint Town, Wolf Town, Yellow Hill, and Big Cove, the names which they still retain, the first three being those of Cherokee clans.



The present-day scattered holdings in Cherokee County and at Snowbird were also bought up, tract by tract, at this time.

It is clear, then, that the basis of the present administrative structure was established during the period 1842-1861. Inasmuch as Indians were not at that time recognized as legal property owners in North Carolina, the purchases were made and held in Thomas's name. But the funds with which they were made had been payable to the Indians, and some Indians also apparently paid Thomas to make purchases for them. It is for these reasons, reinforced by events in 1874-75, that the Eastern Cherokees regard their land as being theirs by purchase as well as by moral right.

Soon after the Civil War, Thomas became ill and the condition of his estate (including the Indian lands) was jeopardized. In response to the need felt for some central authority, a general meeting was held in December, 1868, to draw up a governmental constitution. This instrument, providing for a chief and one representative from each settlement, was inaugurated on December 1, 1870 (29, p. 173), and the Eastern Band of Cherokees came into being, although it was not incorporated until 1889.

At about the same time, Thomas's creditors laid claim to all the assets of his estate, and Congress brought suit against them in order to preserve the Indians' interests (29, p. 174). The change in the Federal Government's role from aggressor to protector is worthy of note here. In 1874 the case was arbitrated, and it was settled in the Indians' interest by their payment of \$7,066.11. In order to safeguard their interests further, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was made trustee, and the lands were surveyed and secured by deed in 1876.

It is not clear to this writer precisely what this initial federal trusteeship entailed; apparently it was not defined in the same terms as the present one, for the Eastern Cherokees continued to pay taxes on their land until 1924. The Federal Government did not take responsibility for education until 1901.\*

\*In Public Law of 1905, Ch. 213, the State of North Carolina recognized the Qualla Boundary as a special school district with compulsory attendance of children at U. S. Government schools, this applying to children with  $\frac{3}{8}$  or more Indian blood. PL of N.C. 1923, Ch. 76, and PL of N.C. 1931, Ch. 67, again make special school districts for Indians, schooling provided by the Federal Government, in Cherokee and Graham Counties, and in Jackson and Swain Counties, respectively.

(Schools were first established among the Eastern Cherokees by the Society of Friends in 1881).

In 1924 the Federal Government assumed its present trust responsibilities, and the "Baker" roll of Band membership was drawn up which specified  $1/32$  as the minimum degree of Indian inheritance qualifying for membership. This roll seems to have been from the beginning a source of controversy, with a large number of names on it contested by the Tribal Council. Among the many problems inherent in the Baker roll has been the fact that no one whose name is not on it is technically a member of the Band. This obviously includes all those born after it was compiled, now a sizeable proportion of the population. In practice, the status of those with a high degree of Indian inheritance has never been questioned, but problems have recurrently arisen in regard to some of those with minimal Indian inheritance.

In 1958 the Tribal Council recommended the compilation of a new roll, minimum inheritance again set at  $1/32$ , and the recommendation was approved by Congress.

### 3. MEMBERSHIP IN THE BAND

Some conception of the composition of the population by degree of Indian inheritance will be afforded by the following table.

We cannot, unfortunately, reach any definite conclusions as to the representativeness of this sample, although we incline to the opinion that it is reasonably representative. In support of this inclination are: the size of the sample (about one quarter of the total population); the facts that all parts of the reservation and a very large proportion of its households are represented; and the fact that only among the children with  $1/2$  or less Indian inheritance (a minority of the sample) is there any serious likelihood that the degree of a child's inheritance may differ greatly from that of one or both of its parents. On the other hand, however, those families which send their children to off-reservation schools do not figure in the sample. Also, the high school sub-sample is a much more restricted selection of its age group than the lower grades are of their age groups.

The differing distributions in the various townships support observations of other types. The considerable significance of this will be discussed later. The figures for the central school

TABLE I  
DEGREE OF INDIAN INHERITANCE AMONG PUPILS ENROLLED  
IN CHEROKEE RESERVATION SCHOOLS, 1956-57

	Cherokee Central		Soco		Birdtown		Big Cove		Snowbird		Total	
	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
Degree of Inheritance												
4/4	67	14	21	18	15	17	29	31	65	96	197	23
3/4 - 4/4	139	29	34	29	11	13	39	41	0	0	223	26
1/2 - 3/4	95	19	32	27	27	31	15	16	3	4	172	20
1/4 - 1/2	96	19	22	18	14	17	8	8	0	0	140	16
less than 1/4	96	19	10	8	19	22	4	4	0	0	129	15
	493	100	119	100	86	100	95	100	68	100	861	100

Source: Cherokee Indian Agency

are, of course, not comparable to those of the other schools, since they are the sum of high school students from the whole reservation and of lower-grade students from Cherokee Village and Painttown, plus some from Birdtown.

The injection of non-Indian ancestry into the population, considering the fact that the original Band at the time of the Removal was predominantly, if not entirely, Indian, cannot be passed over without comment. It is not a simple matter. Some of the predominantly non-Indian families—*i.e.*, people with less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  Indian inheritance—appear to be descendants of people who were already intermarried with whites before the Removal and who were not involved in the Removal. Some of these moved onto the reservation in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Other such families seem to have been formed as a result of the fact that, also in the latter part of the nineteenth century, certain non-Indians moved onto the Reservation and married Indians. A third category of predominantly non-Indian families are those who moved onto the reservation more recently, claiming the requisite degree of Indian inheritance (45, pp. 12 *ff.*). There are a few individuals now living on the Reservation who claim no Indian inheritance at all. For the most part, they are married to members of the Band. The children of such unions, provided the Band-member spouse has at least  $\frac{1}{16}$  degree of Indian inheritance, qualify as members of the Band.

### CHAPTER III. GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

Although there are a few comparatively well-to-do persons among them, the Eastern Cherokees as a whole are poor.

In 1950 the average estimated per capita income of Graham, Swain and Jackson Counties was \$575 per year, as compared to \$1,011 for the state of North Carolina, and \$1,491 for the United States as a whole (6, p. 10). In 1952 the average per capita income of the reservation, including that of the few well-off persons, was estimated to be \$295. Thus the Cherokees are poor even in comparison to their immediate neighbors. While the boom in the tourist business which has been going on during the 1950's must have raised these figures, it is questionable whether the Cherokees' position in relation to that of others has been very much altered. In the middle of the decade, it was



estimated that, excluding the few comparatively well-to-do families, the prevailing annual *family* income ranged between \$300 and \$600 per year (6, p. 9). Even given the persistence of many aspects of subsistence agriculture, these figures indicate genuine poverty, for the Cherokees are by no means isolated from the money economy of the society at large; certain foods (let alone non-food items) they must either buy or do without.

The various types of work which supplement the generally meager cash returns from farming have not, so far, been sufficient to enable the majority of Cherokees to achieve a really adequate income; nor has such work lifted an important minority of them out of a condition in which sheer survival is in question. In 1952 approximately 20 per cent of the families were receiving some sort of public assistance from one or another of the counties. The amount of the payments per family per month did not, incidentally, differ significantly from comparable payments made to non-Indians in the same counties (31, p. 10). That these procedures, together with the welfare work of the Band and some of the churches, were not sufficient would seem to be demonstrated by the fact that during the period 1957-58 the Federal Government inaugurated its own welfare program in addition to that of others.

It is in this area of ecology—sheer survival and, beyond that, adequate subsistence in terms of the standards of the larger culture of which they are a part—that the Cherokees stand at one of the figurative crossroads alluded to in the last chapter. By what steps did they arrive at this crossroads?

## 2. HISTORICAL ADAPTATIONS

Casual observation of the countryside would suggest to us today that when William H. Thomas bought up tracts of land for the Cherokees, he was able only to buy second-best lands from the whites. In terms of agricultural potential, there is little within the borders of the reservation to match the splendid bottom land section just west of the 3200-Acre Tract and other sections upstream along the Tuckasegee; nor is there anything to match the rolling terrain beginning just south of the ridge which forms the southern slopes of Soco Valley. However, the Eastern Cherokees' lands may very well have been adequate for them when they first occupied them and for some time thereafter. It seems that whether or not they would have preferred to farm bottom lands, they tended not to do so.

When the eastern Cherokee moved into their present area, they settled . . . in isolated farmsteads around the edges of the larger bottoms and on beach land up the side creeks. Most of the older Cherokees say that the large bottoms were too swampy to farm and were not utilized until the 1890's when the "white Indians" and more acculturated Indians drained these areas. The utilizing of the edges of the bottoms and the side creeks may have been the old farming pattern . . . (46, p. 15).

It will be recalled that even earlier, Yonahgunski and his followers relinquished their bottom land section at the site of Kituhwa which, still earlier, had been a ceremonial center rather than a farming town in the modern sense.

Yet the use of the edges of bottoms and steep, cleared slopes appears to have been an adequate base for true subsistence (and completely non-commercial) agriculture from the 1840's until the end of the century. By this time the older techniques had been pushed quite literally to their limits, with even the topmost slopes of many ridges under cultivation. Cattle and hogs roamed freely in uncultivated sections, getting a maximum of feed for minimum cost. Doubtless the adequacy of the ecology was beginning to be strained by the increased population, but we do not know what solution would have been worked out by the subsistence farmers had they remained in isolation; for beginning at the end of the century, their isolation was broken and their ecology became involved in external phenomena, such as the growing availability of manufactured goods and some opportunities for earning cash to buy them. However, the opportunities were limited. For example, working for logging companies, which began to cut timber in the more inaccessible areas at this time, lasted only for a relatively short period and was not replaced by anything comparable. And the best lands for cash economy farming had been occupied by a relatively small number of families. Moreover, the old subsistence farming itself received a severe blow, according to local informants, in the enforcement of stock-fencing laws which had the effect of eliminating stock raising almost entirely.\* Later in the late

\*Stock-fencing laws have been in effect in various parts of North Carolina since the 18th century. However, Public Law of N. C. 1895, Ch. 35, provided for the petition by a majority of the voters of Jackson, Graham, Swain, Clay, Macon and Cherokee Counties, to the commissioners of said counties to call elections on the issue of whether or not to release the counties from stock fencing law provisions. Evidently there were elections for release, for PL of N. C. 1897, Ch. 461, amends the 1895 law by specifying financial responsibilities for the moving of fences consequent upon release. Public-Local Law of 1911, Ch. 469, removed Swain County from

1920's and early 1930's, the chestnut blight eliminated what had been a major source of food for hogs.

In short, by the 1920's the economy had become unbalanced. An inflated population depended for the most part on a subsistence agriculture which had become defective, thereby necessitating the purchase of many foodstuffs. Yet for most people there were no adequate means of earning the money for these purchases. In many cases, the futility of trying to earn money by means of subsistence agriculture seems to have resulted in a further constriction of it—the abandonment of cultivation on the higher slopes. Though this may, inadvertently, have been beneficial from the long-range point of view of soil conservation, it solved no problems at the time.

It can readily be seen why the tourist business has had such an impact on the reservation. But though it provides many opportunities for economic improvement, it is not as yet a solution. It is not, for example, of nearly sufficient magnitude to provide every family on the reservation which now lacks it with an income adequate for its needs. Those who still farm on the pattern of the old subsistence agriculture do so mainly because they need the produce (and probably also, in some cases, for non-economic reasons which will be discussed in a later chapter). For most of them, cash income is derived from a number of essentially part-time activities. One of these, closely related technically to subsistence farming, is logging. About 400 families a year derive an average of \$50 from logging (6, p. 6), a fact which indicates its prevalence and, indirectly, the closeness of those involved to the older ecological patterns. However, for conservation reasons, the amount cut is limited by quota, and the most that the time-consuming and laborious work can net an individual is about \$125 per year.

Most of the other essentially part-time and/or seasonal income-yielding activities are connected with the tourist trade. We shall defer discussion of them until we look more closely at the way of life of the people.

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among the counties noted in the 1895 law, but this elimination was repealed by PL 1915, Ch. 379. Meanwhile, PL 1913, Ch. 69 (extra session), makes detailed provision for stock-law elections in Jackson County townships. It may be surmised from this series of enactments that stock-fencing laws were not rigidly enforced before 1895 and that the election issues concerned either eliminating the laws entirely or consistently enforcing them. The enactments of 1913 and 1915 apparently had the latter effect in Jackson and Swain Counties and therefore on the Qualla Boundary.

## 3. THE ECONOMIC CROSSROADS

The Eastern Cherokees, their number increased three-fold from what it was a century ago, live on virtually the same amount of land as at that time. Of that land, 4,946 acres (less than 10 per cent) was in 1955 devoted to farming (6, p. 5). If each family on the reservation were allocated the same amount of farm land, it would have about six acres at its disposal. This might have been adequate for the type of agriculture practiced in the nineteenth century, but it would not be adequate for the needs of today. Since the sizes of farms on the reservation are estimated to range between five and fifty acres (11, p. 34), it is clear that many families utilize agricultural tracts of less than five acres, a category of size in which classification as "small farm" or "vegetable garden" is a moot point. In terms of the latter, only 10 per cent of the Cherokees can possibly make their living primarily or solely from agriculture, given the very narrow land base (6, p. 5). In fact, "the farm agent reports that perhaps fifteen families on the whole reservation could earn their total livelihood (at a level considered satisfactory by modern cash economy standards) by farming 'if they went at it right' " (11, p. 34). As it is, only about 10 per cent of the people today are estimated to support themselves exclusively by farming (6, p. 5). We suspect that these full-time farmers actually represent two extremes of adaptation; at any rate, there are persons representing these extremes on the reservation and both fit the definition. One is the very conservative person eking out a living by the older subsistence farming pattern alone. The other consists of the relatively few people who farm large tracts using the methods of modern commercial farming.

The vast majority (70-80 per cent) do some farming but supplement their income with non-farming activities. This aggregation, too, includes, on the one hand, persons whose farming is specialized and commercially oriented, and on the other hand, persons whose farming is essentially a continuation of subsistence-type patterns. Ninety-eight per cent of the people (*i.e.*, households) are estimated to maintain "some sort of vegetable garden" (6, p. 5). These, of course, include most of those in the other two categories, but we can deduce that there is a small number whose concern with the soil is nil or limited to a small vegetable garden only. From observation we know that these are people who for the most part either have full-time



non-farming jobs of the office type or are occupied in more than one non-farming occupation.

Apart from the employment opportunities offered by the Agency and those businesses which provide services necessary to the local population, the non-farming opportunities are almost entirely related to the tourist business. Indeed, job opportunities apart from essential services and tourism are not generally prevalent in this part of North Carolina. If they do not emigrate, most people who seek permanent improvement in their economic status must go into specialized commercial farming, work for one of the relatively few industries (chiefly pulpwood processing), or capitalize upon some aspect of tourism. Essentially the same choices are available to the Cherokees, but their field of choice seems to be narrower. Cherokees are free to leave the reservation if they wish to, and many have done so through the years, some never to return. But many have always returned, and this has remained true even after the Government inaugurated its Indian relocation program:

In the opinion of all informants the relocation program has not been successful on the Cherokee Reservation. The chairman of the tribal council stated that a considerable number of families who had previously been relocated had made so poor an adjustment to their new environment that the council was sending them money to pay for their return to the reservation (6, p. 14).

Later we shall analyze some of the attitudes which have probably made for poor adjustment elsewhere, but for the moment we introduce the matter simply to make the point that recourse to migration is not widely practicable. We have already shown why successful recourse to specialized farming is necessarily limited to only a fraction of the population. Off-reservation industrial opportunities, too, are filled largely by non-Indians.

And so it is that there is such concentration on the tourist business. Even here, the participation on the reservation of non-Indians is considerable. The Cherokee Historical Association—the largest single tourist enterprise—which operates the outdoor drama "Unto These Hills," a museum, and a reconstructed aboriginal village—though it employs many members of the Band, nevertheless was originated, and is still staffed in important ways by non-Indians.

Maximizing Indian participation in the tourist business is of course one of the ways which leads off from the economic

crossroads. Another is devising means of offsetting the disadvantages inherent in the seasonal limitations of the tourist business. In this connection, the Tribal Council is on record (8, p. 25), as to the official efforts being made "to locate the owners of small industries which could operate to advantage in a Cherokee location." A beginning, actually, has been made in developments of this sort. There are two small industries—one in Cherokee Village and one in Painttown—one of which makes mocassins and the other various Indian souvenirs. According to the Program of the 40th Annual Cherokee Indian Fair (p. 69), in 1957 they employed 57 persons (all Indians) and had a combined weekly payroll of \$2,300. In 1959 a plastic fiber processing plant began operations in Cherokee Village.

Only one of the problems to be solved in opening up these opportunities is the economic one of creating the job opportunities. Also involved is basically an educational problem of orientating toward business procedures a large number of people who are still economically oriented in terms of non-commercial farming. Although souvenir shops began to appear early in the twentieth century when the road which is now the section of Highway 19 between Cherokee Village and Birdtown was improved for modern traffic, the tourist business did not begin to take on serious proportions until the 1930's when Highway 441 was paved through the reservation and over the mountains. Nor did the business really boom until automobile traffic suddenly increased after World War II. It was only then that Highway 19 was completed eastward through Soco Valley. Despite earlier precursors, the present tourist business has essentially been a recent and sudden development. In little more than two decades, highways have made the Cherokee Reservation, previously an isolated mountain area, into a major thoroughfare. But people's attitudes and values do not transform so easily. Nor is the road-building process itself yet complete. The opening in the summer of 1959 of the Blue Ridge Parkway extension, which has been completed across the mountainous portion of the Qualla Boundary, will presumably necessitate further readjustments, for it will enable west-bound travelers into the the National Park to by-pass Cherokee Village and Soco Valley.

In later chapters we shall try to show that for many Cherokees, adaptation to the present conditions of changing economic needs and opportunities involves more than purely economic considerations.

PART II

CONTEXTS OF LIFE





## CHAPTER IV. SETTLEMENTS

### 1. SECTIONS

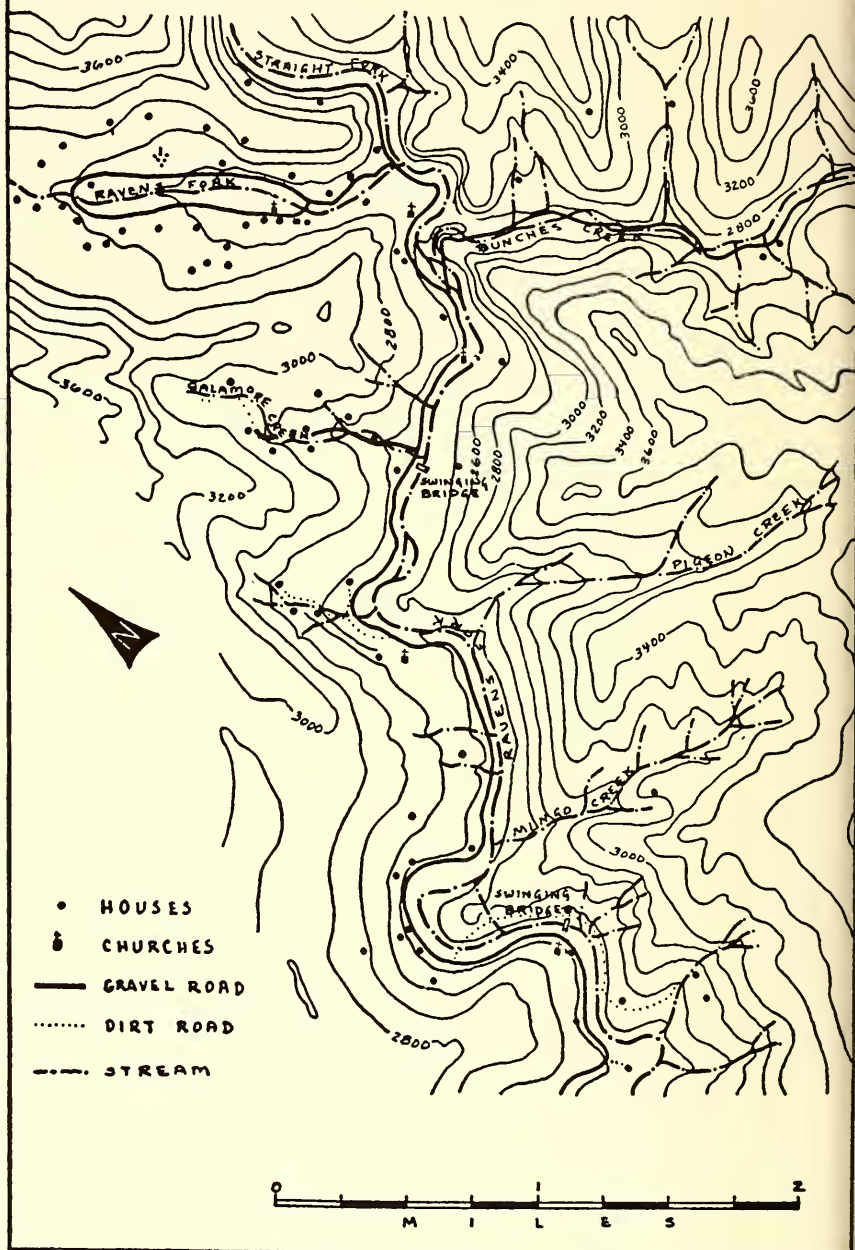
Knowing that the reservation is completely subdivided into townships in the same way that the counties of the New England and other states are subdivided (though the functions of these entities are different), one is at first inclined to equate Eastern Cherokee settlements with the townships on a one-to-one basis. However, only brief acquaintance with the reservation is sufficient to reveal that within the borders of each township there are several more or less distinct settlements.

As has already been suggested in general, and will be shown in detail below, the distinctness of these settlements is primarily a function of their geographical location: around the edges of bottom land, along tributary streams, and along certain roads. Distinct though some of them especially may be, it cannot be assumed that each settlement is a neighborhood in the strict sociological sense of exhibiting feelings of "group-belongingness" and associated social relationships, though as we shall see, there are indications of this in some cases. On the other hand, it should be pointed out at this initial stage that the settlements are regarded as being more than mere geographical aggregations. Reference to them is constantly made by residents of the reservation in indicating where people live. "He lives over Soco way," while rather indefinite since it refers to the entire extent of Soco Creek valley, at least indicates that "he" does not live along Stillwell Branch or Wright's Creek, both of which could actually be said to be "over Soco way." Furthermore, certain stereotypic remarks—for example, "Those folks up — Branch are all old-time Indians,"—are not to be ignored by students of social behavior. All things considered, the neutral term "section," used to some extent on the reservation, is perhaps the best basic one to use in reference to the settlements.

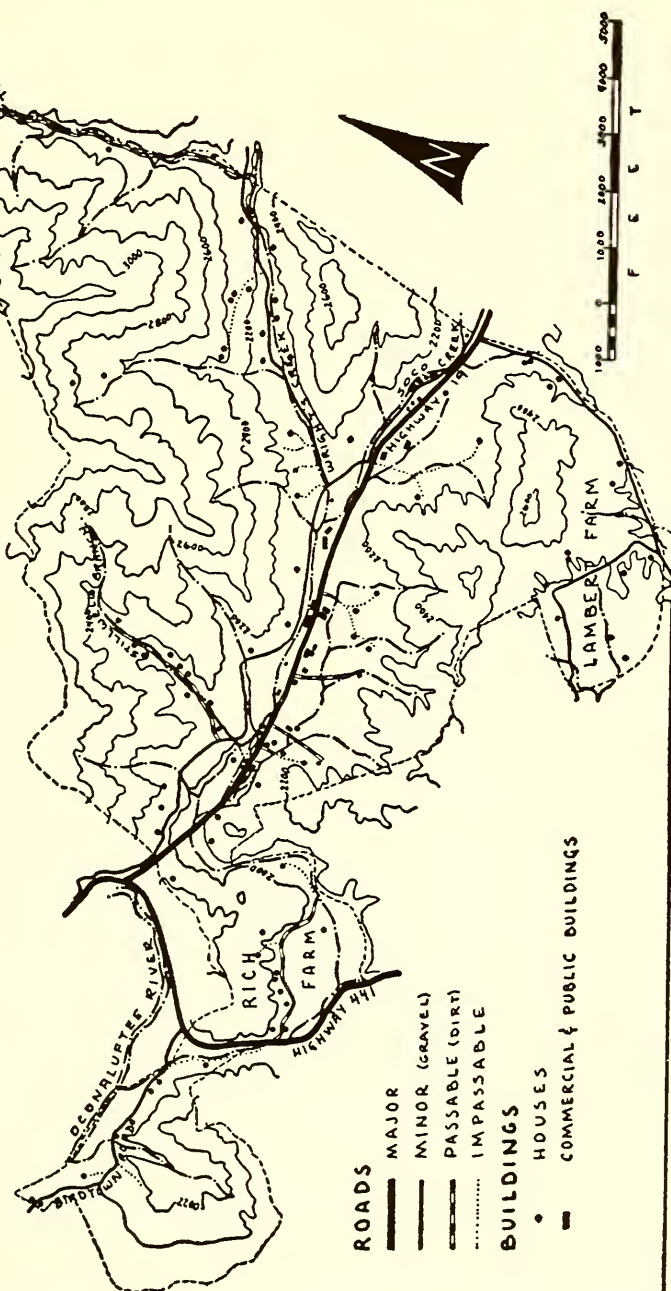
In Painttown (11, pp. 29-32) eight sections, one of which can be subdivided, can be delineated as follows:

1. Swimmer Branch
2. Tooni Branch
3. Wright's Creek
4. Stillwell Branch
5. Soco Valley
  - a. Old Soco Road

MAP 3  
BIG COVE TOWNSHIP  
CHEROKEE, NORTH CAROLINA



MAP 4  
**PAINTTOWN TOWNSHIP**  
CHEROKEE, NORTH CAROLINA



\*b. Highway

\*c. Bottom land edge, south

6. Rich Farm

7. Lambert Farm

8. "Birdtown road"

Swimmer Branch and Tooni Branch are tributaries of Wright's Creek, and all three of these sections illustrate the pattern of settlement along the banks of small, fast-flowing streams. The land is sloped not only downward toward each stream on each side, but the courses of the streams themselves are often sharply sloped. Houses tend to be located either close to the streams, especially where there are relatively level areas for cultivation, or they are located in small clearings removed from the gravel road which follows the course of each stream. Foot trails, leading up and away from roads and streams to isolated farmsteads deep in the woods, are relatively few in Painttown as compared to some of the other townships. Given the broken terrain, the dense forestation, and the smallness of clearings, many houses are actually quite effectively hidden from view; and those houses at the end of foot trails might as well not exist as far as the motorist is concerned. The road along Wright's Creek, which continues on into the uplands of Wolfetown, is evidently an improved wagon track of some age, but other gravel roads have only recently been converted from having been hardly negotiable by wheeled vehicles.

These characteristics are typical of the reservation as a whole, and it is only in the major bottom lands that one has any sense of panorama of fields and houses. When one is in one of the major bottom lands, furthermore, one tends to be unaware of any settlement outside it. The untutored traveler along Highway 19 in Painttown remains completely ignorant of the existence of the sections mentioned above, or of the Stillwell Branch section in which the houses are lined up on both sides of the road which follows the course of the stream. He will, of course, be aware of the mountain slopes lying to the north, and he may notice the narrow V-shaped troughs in the mountains formed by the tributary streams; but of the settlements up these streams he will have no inkling except insofar as he may wonder where the various gravel roads leading off from the highway go.

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\* We are not aware of local use of specific names of these sections.

The settlement patterns of the Soco Valley section of Painttown illustrate, more dramatically and literally than perhaps any other section of the reservation, the way in which the tourist business has been superimposed on the economy of the reservation.

The traveler entering Painttown from the east on Highway 19 has in the previous six miles made the winding descent from Soco Gap (elevation 4,345 feet), during which he passed an occasional cabin and several "overlooks" and picnic areas, and entered the valley itself. At first narrow, ill-defined, and enclosed by towering slopes (sections of which occasionally are planted in corn) the valley soon opens out, and the highway runs through open fields—some planted, some grown to weeds (either abandoned or lying fallow), some being grazed by small herds of cattle and some dotted with hayricks piled around pointed poles set vertically in the earth. For the most part, the houses are definitely away from the highway and located at the foot of the mountains, but as our traveler proceeds westward, he passes more and more buildings which are oriented directly toward the highway. One of these, the Soco Day School—a compound of white, clapboard-sided buildings—is followed by the dressed-stone buildings of the Methodist Mission. Soon after this, he enters Painttown, marked only by a welcoming sign erected by the Community Club. Almost immediately he passes, on one side of the road, a motel and a miniature train pulled by a steam locomotive, and on the other side, an establishment which includes a shop for manufacturing souvenirs, a refreshment counter, and a photographer.

Soon thereafter he passes, on both sides of the road, several motels of the latest design—pastel decor, expanses of glass and aluminum trim, a swimming pool, beach umbrellas, and neon signs. Dwellings along the highway at this point include some house-trailers and neatly painted frame houses with lawns and flowerbeds. A service station and a souvenir shop with a "chief" and a bear, restlessly pacing about a small cage, are forerunners of what the traveler will see, greatly multiplied, after he leaves Painttown at Cherokee Gap and enters Cherokee Village.

This highway section, which along with the highway itself did not exist before World War II, is designed to attract attention (in sharp contrast to the tributary sections), and it does. Its presence can easily distract the observer from the



fact that behind the highway buildings on both sides and behind Soco Creek itself on the north side extend fields like those further east in Wolfetown, and that beyond the fields are houses. On the north side these houses are ranged along the Old Soco Road, now a gravel road but not long ago a wagon track which ran through the valley. On the south side the houses are not connected by any lateral road.

The remaining three sections of Painttown are also invisible from the Soco Valley section. The Rich Farm and Lambert Farm sections are similar to each other but atypical of the reservation. These tracts are located on the southern slope of the ridge of hills which marks the southern border of Soco Valley in Painttown. They were purchased by the Band about 1940. Geographically they are part of the rolling terrain which extends south to Sylva. A gravel road winds through each, and the houses are either adjacent to the roads or set back in the broad fields. The Birdtown road section of Painttown is a segment of the road which runs along the southern shore of the Oconaluftee from Cherokee Village to Birdtown. The line between Birdtown and Painttown runs right through the eighth house west on this segment of the road. The inclusion of this quite removed section in Painttown is apparently due to the fact that the section lies in Jackson County, as does Painttown, whereas Birdtown and Cherokee Village, to either of which the section might more naturally seem to belong in terms of geographical location, are in Swain County.

Big Cove township presents instructive contrasts, as well as comparable features, in regard to sections. The most obvious contrast is that, since no through-highway traverses the township, there is no highway section. Big Cove is unique in this respect, though it should be pointed out that the intensity of highway-ecological development varies in the other townships, Painttown being second to Cherokee Village in intensity, while Birdtown and Wolfetown follow in that order.

Big Cove can be reached from Cherokee Village by two routes. (It can also be reached by a third road from Wright's Creek, but this route, being very precipitous, is not ordinarily used.) One of the favored gravel road approaches to Big Cove leads north from "Lower" Cherokee Village (the "crossroads" section). The other leads east from Highway 441 at a point considerably north of "Upper" Cherokee Village, which is actually in the National Park. The two roads converge in the

National Park and form the Big Cove road proper. This road for the most part follows the winding course of Raven's Fork—a rocky, rapid stream which is often at least 50 feet in width. Until the Big Cove itself is reached, both the road and the stream are narrowly enclosed by steep wooded slopes. Though the road, which has recently been widened and improved, often runs through raw cuts in earth and rock, the wild natural beauties of the region are manifest here, for the water—crystal clear except after heavy rains—tumbles over rocks of often prodigious size and is frequently bordered by towering masses of rhododendron and laurel.

Big Cove, too, has its welcoming sign, but the reverse side of this same sign also bids the passer-by farewell, for one ordinarily leaves Big Cove by the same way that one came. For a while after passing this sign, there are few indications of habitation except for a few mail boxes set on posts. As more houses and two churches in turn come into view and are passed by, it is clear that the settlement pattern of this section is basically the same as that along Wright's Creek. Most of the houses are close to the road, but there are a number of houses across the stream, often high up on the slopes. Most of these cannot be seen from the road, and their existence is indicated only by mailboxes and an occasional swinging suspension foot-bridge.

The most imposing structure on this road is the Big Cove Day School. Next to the school Galamore Road, following Galamore Creek, leads westward away and uphill from the stream. About a mile further on, Bunches Creek and Bunches Creek road lead off to the east. These are two more sections of the township. Only a row of mailboxes gives any clue as to the existence or the number of houses in these sections. About a mile beyond Bunches Creek, Raven's Fork and the road with it divides into two. The right-hand fork, looking upstream, is called Straight Fork, and there are a few houses on it. The left-hand fork, which continues to be called Raven's Fork, leads into Big Cove proper which is an elliptical bottom land. The stream runs through the Cove to its source, while the road describes a long, narrow loop running along both sides of the stream and meeting itself at a bridge. Big Cove is not as open country as is Soco Valley. It is less extensive and the surrounding mountains are higher, at least relatively higher in proportion to the dimensions of the bottom. Much of the land in the

center is not cultivated but is overgrown with bracken. The fields and houses are more to the sides and often extend up onto the slopes. Here and there small patches of corn in the surrounding forest can be seen high up on the slopes, and there are trails leading to cabins which themselves are hidden in the trees. In Big Cove there remains a bottom land settlement and land-use pattern probably more similar to that of the nineteenth century than that in any other section in the reservation except Adams Creek in Birdtown.

Big Cove township, in summary, has five sections (7, pp. 101-9): Big Cove ("the Cove" or "the Upper Cove"), Straight Fork, Bunches Creek, Galamore Creek, and Stoney, the last being the name used for the whole section downstream from Galamore. Besides the other special features which have been noted, there are in Big Cove far more really isolated houses, reached only by steep foot trails, than in Painttown. Furthermore, the ridges between sections are criss-crossed with trails so that one can, for instance, walk directly from the upper reaches of the Galamore section into the Cove.

The locations and nature of the sections of Birdtown are such that one might conclude, from only passing through it on Highway 19, that it consists only of buildings scattered along the highway. That it has, in fact, nearly as many inhabitants as do Painttown and Big Cove combined is at first a startling revelation. Not counting the 3200-Acre Tract which is physically separate from but politically included in Birdtown, eight sections have been discerned in the township (22, p. 5):

1. Goose Creek
2. Cooper's Creek
3. Adams Creek
4. McCoy Branch
5. Lambert Branch
6. "Along the Highway"
7. "Across the River"
8. "Across the Bridge"

The territory of Birdtown is divided into two parts by the westward course of the Oconaluftee River. Highway 19 follows the river's course along its northern bank. The streams which are the basis of the first five sections drain into the river from the north. Some are very small, none are large, and the water of each is carried by culvert under the highway—facts which contribute to the hiding of the sections. The highway section



going westward from Cherokee Village consists first of a church and houses scattered along the highway, some of them with garden plots located below the highway on the very banks of the river; second comes a delta formed by Adams Creek. The bottom land of Adams Creek proper lies northward beyond a narrow defile. Here are located the Birdtown Day School, a motel, a church, and several souvenir shops. Immediately after this settlement the river and the road curve sharply around a spur ridge, after which the land opens out into the Goose Creek delta, more extensive than that of Adams Creek. Here are a couple of houses and a small general store and filling station, but most of the area is planted to hay and corn. The Lambert and McCoy Branch roads can be passed easily without notice just before and just after passing the Adams Creek delta-bottom. Each consists of only a few houses. Though both the deltas are noticeable, the sections lying northward from them are not immediately visible. Adams Creek is similar to the Cove of Big Cove, except that the road passes around the edge of the bottom where the houses are located. Cooper's Creek is a tributary of Goose Creek; though separated by a ridge from each other and from Adams Creek, these sections are less enclosed than most we have considered, and somewhat reminiscent in terrain of the Rich Farm and Lambert Farm Sections of Painttown.

Across the river, opposite the Lambert Branch, McCoy Branch and Adams Creek sections, lies what Miss Flora Hood (22) simply calls the "Across the River" section. This is actually the continuation of the Birdtown Road which starts in Painttown. The road follows the course of the river until it crosses a bridge which joins it to Highway 19 at the eastern end of the Goose Creek delta. The "Across the Bridge" section lies southwest of this location.

The above discussion is intended to convey an impression of the variations on a limited number of themes of settlement pattern on the reservation. In view of the variations, these themes may now be somewhat restated as follows. Houses may be located around the edges of extensive bottom lands, adjacent to the slopes where springs and small rivulets are sources of water, and where both the slopes and level fields can be worked economically in relation to the dwelling sites. Houses may also be located along the banks of tributary streams where water is available and where there are occasional spreads of alluvial

soil. With the recent construction of gravel automobile roads along many of these tributaries, a number of houses are now more obviously oriented toward the roads than they are toward the streams. Where modern through-highways have been constructed, commercial developments have appeared along them. This pattern may cross-cut bottom lands, as in Painttown, or provide a lateral link between tributaries, as in Birdtown. Except for the highway sections, the prevailing settlement patterns are still functions of the needs of small scale subsistence agriculture in a mountainous topography, to some extent modified by the introduction of automotive transportation.

## 2. CHURCHES

Apart from the schools, which were built and are operated by an external organization, churches are the most noticeable focal institutions in the Cherokee settlements. How focal are they in terms of drawing together residents of a neighboring section or cluster of contiguous neighboring sections? There is no clear-cut answer to this question, but there are some findings which bear helpfully upon it as well as upon some other questions of group behavior.

There are, as far as we know, seventeen churches on the reservation: 11 Baptist, 1 Episcopal, 3 Holiness, and 2 Methodist. In addition, Roman Catholic and Mormon services are offered in one of the Agency buildings at Cherokee, but neither of these denominations has a church of its own. The predominance of the Baptists is unquestionable. In Painttown, for example, 74 per cent of the households are Baptist, 13 per cent Methodist, 6 per cent "other", 3 per cent no denomination (11, p. 89); and we have no reason to believe that these figures are not representative of the reservation as a whole. For the Baptist majority, the decision on what church to attend obviously does not rest on denominational considerations. On considerations which do affect decisions of this sort, such as preference for a particular minister or the congeniality of other persons attending particular churches, we have little information; although it is our impression that such considerations are a factor in the observed tendency of some persons to change their church of attendance. This tendency sometimes seems to be intensified by the fact that many of the churches do not have regular ministers and are often served by lay preachers. Those

churches which have the most stable organization have non-Indian ministers.

There are at least four churches in which services are offered in the Cherokee language; and persons who speak Cherokee by preference tend to congregate in them, although such persons also go to other churches. The Baptist Mission in Cherokee Village and the Methodist Mission in Soco, two of the largest churches, seem to draw attendance from all parts of the reservation, due partly to their central location and/or accessibility, as well as, no doubt, to other factors. The communicants of the Episcopal Church in Cherokee Village seem to consist primarily of employees of the Federal Agency in Cherokee. These are cases of apparent generality or specificity in regard to church attendance which would seem to have less relevance to residence patterns than they do to other principles of social aggregation.

The distribution of churches by township is as follows: Big Cove, 5; Birdtown, 3; Cherokee, 3 (plus the Catholic and Mormon congregations); Painttown, 1; and Wolfetown, 4. These figures indicate that there is no one-to-one association of church and section, but one may not infer from this that there is no relationship between the location of a church and the place of residence of its communicants.

In Big Cove two of the churches are built along the main road in the Stoney section. The church which is the further downstream (and further away from the other sections) is attended only by people living in the Stoney section. The other church is attended by people from all other sections of the township, but its present location is a new one (7, p. 108). The third Big Cove church is located further up the main road, about half way between the Galamore and Bunches Creek roads. Conducting its services in what used to be the main classroom of the old Big Cove school building, it is a relatively new congregation belonging to a different denomination from the predominant Baptist one in the township. Its communicants are drawn from the other churches. The fourth church up the main road is near Bunches Creek. Completed in 1958, it is a Methodist mission, and the building includes quarters for non-Indian missionaries. Residence patterns of its communicants are not known. The fifth of the Big Cove churches is located in the Cove proper. Communicants of this church now live in all parts of the township. However, all of those communicants now liv-

ing in Stoney or Galamore (furthest from the church) did at some time or other live in the Cove itself or along Bunches Creek (relatively near the church), and many of these were born and raised in the Cove (7, p. 109). In this case early association with a church, including physical propinquity, appears to override the fact that present place of residence is not close to the church. It is also true that services in the Cherokee language are offered in this church, and many of its communicants are attracted to it for this reason. Only a few residents of Big Cove are known to attend church outside of the township, and in two of these instances the individuals belong to denominations which do not or did not until very recently, hold services in the township.

There are three churches in Birdtown, all of them Baptist. One of them is in the "Across the Bridge" section. This is one of the churches in which the Cherokee language is used extensively, and many of its communicants (including those people living on Cooper's Creek to which other churches are closer) are people who speak Cherokee by preference (22, pp. 28-9). Another church is located near the school. It, too, attracts Cherokee speakers, including those living in the 3200-Acre Tract. Here the factor of cultural affinity, to some extent overriding considerations of spatial convenience, appears to be in operation. The third Birdtown church is located on the highway not far from the Cherokee Village border, and it is attended by persons from all sections of the township as well as by those from other townships. In turn, a considerable number of Birdtown people attend church outside of Birdtown. One of these churches is up Cooper's Creek just across the reservation border. Two others are in Cherokee Village, and a third is the Methodist Mission in Soco. These three churches send buses to Birdtown on Sundays for their communicants (22, p. 29).

Of the three Baptist churches in Cherokee Village, one tends to attract those who speak the Cherokee language by preference, and most people having this preference who live in Cherokee Village, live in the vicinity of this church (45, p. 20). The second Baptist church in Cherokee Village does not attract Cherokee speakers, but its congregation forms a Free Labor Company (see Chapter VI) which, in fact, built the church building and performs services for members who live in Birdtown and Painttown (45, pp. 35-6). The Cherokee Baptist Mission, as mentioned before, attracts people from all parts of the reservation.



The trends which are suggested by these observations become crystalized to some extent when we consider the church attendance of residents of Painttown, a subject on which we have rather precise and fairly complete information. The figures are in terms of households (which, for the most part, mean nuclear families—see Chapter V) rather than in terms of individual persons. This procedure seems to be justified in view of the prevailing homogeneity of individual families in regard to church attendance.

There is only one church in Painttown—Rock Springs Baptist—which is located near the confluence of Wright's Creek and Soco Creek, immediately adjacent to the Soco Valley and Wright's Creek sections, and easily accessible to all sections of Painttown except the Birdtown Road, Rich Farm, and Lambert Farm sections.

The communicants of Rock Springs Church are drawn very heavily from the sections adjacent to it. Twenty of the 26 households in the Wright's Creek section (including Tooni and Swimmer Branches) attend Rock Springs, as do five of the ten households along Stillwell Branch, and 14 of the 42 households in the Soco Valley section. While the communicants of Rock Springs hardly comprise a residential bloc, there is nevertheless a definite geographical tendency. Besides the 39 households indicated, there are only three other Painttown households affiliated with Rock Springs. One is in the Rich Farm section. The husband in this household and his wife are full-blood Indians, and they may well be attracted to Rock Springs because 78 per cent of the communicant households of Rock Springs are in the  $\frac{3}{4}$  to full degree range of Indian inheritance, whereas their immediate neighbors are mostly of minimal Indian inheritance and attend off-reservation churches (see below). The other two are in the Birdtown Road section. It is probably significant that members of both of the households in the latter section have close relatives who live near and are also affiliated with Rock Springs (11, p. 90). Rock Springs is attended also by five or six families from Wolfetown, one from Cherokee Village, and one from Birdtown (11, p. 98).

Thus the great majority of persons attending this particular church live in sections immediately adjacent to it, but (except for Wright's Creek) a majority of the people living in these same sections attend a total of eight other churches, five of

which are also Baptist (11, p. 92). One reason for this diversification would appear to be the attraction of the church with which one was associated as a child or adolescent. In regard to Rock Springs itself, in 75 per cent of its Painttown communicant families, the man of the family or his wife or both, were born and raised in Painttown (11, p. 92), as opposed to the 63 per cent of such families in the Painttown population as a whole. Looking from Painttown outwards, the same pull seems to some extent to be in operation. All of the six Painttown families which attend one of the Birdtown churches live in the Birdtown Road and Lambert Farm sections, and in three of these the man and/or his wife were raised in Birdtown. Geographical propinquity to Birdtown may account for the other three of which man and/or wife were Painttown-raised.

Of the 18 households in the Lambert and Rich Farm sections, 11 attend one or the other of two churches (one Baptist, one Methodist) which lie between these two sections but not on the reservation. While geographical propinquity may well be involved here (there being only one other family in all of Painttown who attends one of these churches), it is also highly significant that 83 per cent of these households have men and/or wives who were not born on the reservation and have minimal or no degree of Indian blood (11, p. 91). Five Painttown families attend the Soco Methodist Mission. All of them live in the eastern extremity of the Highway section, as close to this church as to any other, and in three of these families, the man and/or his wife were born and raised in Wolfetown. Another ten families attend a Baptist church in Wolfetown, near the highway, and half of these have men and/or wives who were born and raised in that township. Three of them live in the upper extremity of Swimmer Branch, not very accessible to the church they attend and certainly more accessible to Rock Springs than any other. Fifteen Painttown families attend two of the Baptist churches in Cherokee Village, those which do not particularly attract speakers of the Cherokee language. They live primarily in the western end of the Soco Valley section (adjacent to Cherokee Village), but only a third of them have men and/or wives who were born and raised in Cherokee Village; more of them were born and raised in Painttown. They are predominantly, though not entirely, people with  $\frac{1}{2}$  or less degree of Indian inheritance, and many of them have been successful in the competitive tourist business of the highway. In this case,

the attraction, though partly influenced by geographical convenience, seems to involve cultural affinities (11, p. 90).

Reviewing the Painttown church attendance material in terms of the sections, certain definite statements can be made. The Wright's Creek, Tooni Branch, and, to a lesser degree, Swimmer Branch, sections are homogeneous in regard to church attendance. Yet the Rock Springs Church is not exclusively attended by people from these sections, and it cannot be said to be "The Wright's Creek Church."

Stillwell Branch is more heterogeneous, but the closeness of Rock Springs, if nothing else, is sufficient to draw five (half) of its families. The other five attend three other churches, two in Cherokee Village and one in Wolfetown.

The Birdtown Road section is heterogeneous. Two of its families attend Rock Springs, apparently because of kinship connections, while the others attend church in Birdtown and Cherokee Village, presumably for reasons of geographical convenience and/or early association.

The Lambert Farm section is almost perfectly divided into two homogeneous parts. Five of the ten families attend off-reservation churches, four attend church in Birdtown, and one in Cherokee Village.

Of the eight households in the Rich Farm section, six attend off-reservation churches, the same churches attended by half of the households in Lambert Farm.

The Highway section is the most nearly heterogeneous, but nevertheless there are patterns. Of the 42 households, 14, as noted earlier, are associated with Rock Springs, and they are concentrated in the central portion of the section. Sixteen, some concentrated in the western portion and others scattered in the central portion, attend churches in Cherokee Village. Eleven, concentrated in the eastern portion, attend church in Wolfetown. One attends an off-reservation church. These patterns seem almost too good to be true as far as geographical propinquity of church and place of residence is concerned. And yet, considering the fact that the Painttown-Soco Valley section can be traversed by car in less than five minutes, one wonders why there should be such patterning. Tentatively, we suggest the following explanation. Rapid automotive transportation is a very recent development which is antedated by the residential patterns. These were set when travel was exclusively by foot or by wagon, means of travel so slow that differences in fractions of



miles would be important considerations in such matters as choice of church. The Painttown material also suggests that people moving into the township have tended to settle in sections of it which are adjacent to the township whence they came, though whether this has been a cause or a consequence of the tendency to attend church near where one was born and raised we cannot say; it could be both. Automotive facilities probably help to account for the scatter of households in the central, and even one in the eastern portion of the valley, belonging to persons who attend church in Cherokee Village, but in general our findings concerning residence and church attendance lend support to our image of the highway developments as still being in the "superimposed" stage.

Geographical convenience is clearly an important factor in the choice of church of attendance. But this fact does not result in sections or small groups of sections being "church-homogeneous," and we know of only one section which is both "church-homogeneous" and "church-exclusive." That is, we know of only one church which is attended by all of the people in an adjacent section and only by the people of that section.

Geographical convenience frequently gives way to sentimental attachment for the church associated with one's youth. This can have two almost opposite effects on sections. In the case of Rock Springs, this sentiment probably contributes to the continued loyalty of people in Stillwell Branch and the valley; it probably contributes to the off-reservation attendance of people in the Rich Farm and Lambert Farm areas. On the other hand, the sentiment also contributes to the heterogeneity of church attendance in the valley generally and to the scattered residences of people attending the church in the Upper Cove of Big Cove.

Certain cultural affinities, such as those indicated by having maximal Indian inheritance and preferring the use of the Cherokee language in church, or by having minimal Indian inheritance, can also effect section patterns. Where such a group dominates a section, there may be a high correspondence between section and church, the Rich Farm section being a case in point. On the other hand, cultural standards which are satisfied in certain churches also draw communicants from various sections, thereby increasing the heterogeneity in church attendance of the sections, for the sections are not necessarily homogeneous in regard to cultural affinities.

Between the residents of a section or cluster of sections and an adjacent church there is no such tight and self-conscious social organization as there is, for example, between the residents of each of the barrios of Tepoztlan, Mexico, and their church (28, pp. 24-5). Yet the association of communicants and church is by no means haphazard. Given just a few facts, we can predict with a very reasonable expectation of accuracy where a given Cherokee will attend church. There is a predictability in this matter because there are patterns in it. This is socially organized behavior, but it is loosely organized in the sense that predictable alternatives are followed. A Cherokee is not bound by reasons of place of residence, or by childhood sentiment, or by cultural affinity to attend a particular church. This is the "loose" element in the situation. On the other hand, one can be reasonably sure that one or more of these considerations will enter into a Cherokee's choice of church attendance. This is the "organization." Later (see Chapter VIII), we shall consider the concept of "loose social organization" as opposed to "social disorganization" among the Eastern Cherokees.

### 3. SPATIAL MOBILITY

In our discussion of sections and church attendance, the issue of movement from one township to another was raised. More needs to be said on this subject of spatial mobility within the reservation.

Table 2 indicates clearly that considerable inter-township mobility has entered into the formation of Painttown households. The totally Painttown-reared households tend to be located in the Wright's Creek and adjacent areas. The non-Painttown-reared and off-reservation-reared households are concentrated especially in the Rich and Lambert Farm areas.

It is notable that the immigrants came largely from townships immediately adjacent to Painttown, and this number includes quite a few of the off-reservation-reared people.

Table 3 reworks the data in terms of sex differences, and it suggests that the women may be more stable than the men. Only 33 per cent of the men were Painttown-reared as opposed to 51 per cent of the women. In addition, more men than women seem to have come from farther away. While it would be going too far to state on this basis that there is a matrilocal tendency in Painttown, the possibility should be kept in mind, for various

TABLE 2

Painttown Households by Place of Birth and/or Raising of Man of Family and Wife.

Number of households=100.

Man and wife both raised in Painttown		19
Wives only raised in Painttown		30
Husbands raised in:		
Wolfetown	6	
Birdtown	5	
Cherokee Village	4	
Snowbird	1	
Big Cove	5	
Off-Reservation	5	
Husbands only raised in Painttown		14
Wives raised in:		
Wolfetown	8	
Cherokee Village	1	
Big Cove	1	
Off-Reservation	4	
Neither husband or wife raised in Painttown		37
Husbands raised in:		
Wolfetown	3	
Birdtown	6	
Cherokee Village	4	
Snowbird	2	
Off-Reservation	15	
Wives raised in:		
Wolfetown	4	
Birdtown	3	
Cherokee Village	10	
Snowbird	1	
Big Cove	4	
Off-Reservation	12	

Source: Gardner, 1958, pp. 39 and 43.

observations of a different sort have led to speculation in the same direction.

Table 4 gives an indication of the mobility of persons who were born and raised in Painttown. It is based on a sample of 179 persons who include adults who may be considered as heads of households, together with siblings and adult children who may not be so considered.

TABLE 3

Painttown Husbands and Their Wives by Place of Birth and/or Raising.

Place	Husband	Wife	Total
Painttown	33	49	82
Wolfetown	9	12	21
Birdtown	11	3	14
Cherokee Village	8	11	19
Snowbird	3	1	4
Big Cove	5	5	10
Off-Reservation	20	16	36
Totals	89	97	186

The discrepancy in the totals is due to the presence of widows and widowers.

TABLE 4

Place of Residence (1957) of 179 Persons Known or Assumed to Have Grown Up in Painttown

Place of Residence	No.	Percent
Off-Reservation	62	34.6
Painttown	81	45.2
Wolfetown	16	8.8
Cherokee Village	14	7.8
Birdtown	3	1.6
Big Cove	2	1.1
Snowbird	1	.5
	179	100.0

Source: Gardner, 1958, p. 42.

The immigrant and emigrant figures are consistent with each other and indicate these trends: a stable population amounting to somewhat less than half the total adult population; an impressive amount of off-reservation mobility; on-reservation

mobility limited largely to the two townships (Cherokee Village and Wolfetown) which are closest and most accessible to Painttown.

From the other townships, we have similar data only from Big Cove (7, p. 139). These data are far less full, and they can best be presented comparatively:

TABLE 5

Mobility, as Indicated by Households, in Big Cove and Painttown.

Type of Household	Big Cove Percent	Painttown Percent
Both husband & wife raised in the township	50	19
Wife only raised in the township	15	30
Husband only raised in the township	20	14
Neither husband nor wife raised in the township	15	37
Total	100	100
	N=65 N households in Big Cove not included=10	N=100 N households in Painttown not included=4

The differences between the two townships are as important as they are obvious. They probably represent two opposite extremes in regard to mobility as far as the reservation as a whole is concerned. Big Cove's stable households include a large proportion of people with maximal degrees of Indian inheritance, preference for the Cherokee language, and location of residence in the Galamore, Bunches Creek, and Upper Cove sections, although there are exceptions in all cases. And the following facts, which do not appear in Table 5, are instructive: in contrast to Painttown's 36, in the Big Cove sample there are only five persons known to have been born off the reservation. Three of these are wives with no Indian inheritance. The other two, man and wife, are full-blood Cherokees from Oklahoma!

However, when we observe in Table 6 the percentage of husbands and their wives in Big Cove and Painttown who were born and raised in another township *on the reservation*, the contrast between the two townships is not so great. Roughly a third (slightly less in Big Cove, slightly more in Painttown) of this segment of the population is in this category.

TABLE 6

Place of Rearing of Husbands and Their Wives in Big Cove and Painttown

	Big Cove		Painttown	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
In same township	87	67	82	44
In different township but on Reservation	38	29	68	37
Off-Reservation	5	4	26	19
Totals	130	100	186	100

Genealogies, collected by R. P. Kutsche and Millicent Holzing, of the descendants of the seven men who are reputed to have been the first settlers in Big Cove after the Removal, provide additional information on this subject, showing that descendants of these men are now living in every township on the reservation. Since this information is not complete, it cannot be tabulated numerically; but the over-all pattern is nevertheless clear.

Within the settlement patterns of the Eastern Cherokees, then, movement from one township to another, and from one section to another within the same township, is commonplace. These movements probably contribute to the weakness of sentiments of township identity and exclusiveness which prevails on the reservation. Viewed from the standpoint of sections, we have seen that in some cases people who recognize certain cultural affinities with each other tend to cluster in certain sections, either by simply remaining where they were born and raised or by migrating. The Upper Cove of Big Cove and Wright's Creek are cases in point, representing aggregations which have, respectively, Conservative Indian (see Chapter



VIII) and moderately Conservative Indian values. Mobility and stability work together at times to produce relatively homogeneous inhabitants in given sections, but the distinction between newcomers and oldtimers in a section is not, so far as we know, an important matter in itself. Mobility and stability can also produce heterogeneity, as in the case of Soco Valley where some relatively Conservative and stable families have, as it were, stood their ground, while a number of diverse persons, attracted by the opportunities presented by the highway, have moved in.

These characterizations of settlements derive from motivational sets which are significant; but significant though they are, it is important to remember that they lead to tendencies and not to rigid, inflexible structures. While one of the sections we have considered has among its inhabitants a large proportion of very Conservative Indians who are native to the township and attend the church nearest the section, this section is also the home of a man who, though native to the township, is oriented very largely toward standard American culture, whose wife is not an Indian, and whose new house would not be out of place in any prosperous middle-class suburb. Such contrasts can be found, in various forms, in all parts of the reservation. Rather than being written off as "exceptions," they must be regarded as part of the total *gestalt* of Eastern Cherokee culture.

## CHAPTER V. HOUSEHOLDS

### 1. HOUSES

The aboriginal Cherokee house was an oval or oblong structure with one door and no windows. The construction was of a type which anthropologists call wattle-and-daub—posts set vertically in the earth, interwoven with flexible materials, plastered inside and out with clay. The pitched roof was thatched with reeds.

Not a trace of this aboriginal type of construction remains among the Eastern Cherokees. As a matter of fact, it began to be replaced by the log cabin of the white frontiersmen as early as the eighteenth century and was apparently completely superceded by the time of the Removal. In contrast to the contemporary Menomini of Wisconsin, of whom a few of the most conservative still live in modified versions of the aboriginal

wigwam (39, p. 62), the most conservative, or at least old-fashioned, domestic architecture of the Eastern Cherokees consists of a type introduced by the whites.

There are two versions of this basically crib-work structure which are distinguished, in rural North Carolina generally, as "log house" and "pole house." The log house is the more finely wrought of the two, for the timbers, sometimes six inches thick and two feet wide, have been added into rectangular cross-sections and notched at the corner ends so that they interlock securely. The pole house is similarly constructed, except that round logs, simply stripped of their bark, are used. In both cases, the chinks were originally filled in with clay. At the present time, concrete is often substituted for clay, or boards are nailed over the chinks on the inside. Both types have a massive chimney made of clay and field stones, a front porch supported on posts, and a roof finished with heavy shingles, or "shakes."

Actually, rather few such houses are still standing and occupied on the reservation. They are far fewer than the number of households whose members are the most Conservative in general outlook.

More common is a simple, rectangular frame house of milled boards, with no attic or basement, and with or without a front porch. Rarely painted, the exteriors of such houses may be left as constructed, or finished with tar paper, or covered with asphalt siding often made to look like brick or stone. This, the simplest and least expensive type of house, varies greatly, however, in the precision with which it is built and the care with which it is maintained. The following is a discussion, not of all such simple frame houses, but particularly of those often made by the prospective occupant himself with little or no specialized assistance:

... the base of a house is built of logs placed on piles of rock at the corners and at various other points of stress. Often these piles get progressively narrower up to the point at which they support the base log lying across them. The whole gives an impression of teetering instability . . .

If they are available, two-by-six floor joists will be used to support the floor, and if not, poles will be adzed for the same purpose. The floor is a single layer of rough-cut oak or pine. In a house built of boards, the walls are made by two-by-four joists at varying distances and covering these with roughcut boards of different widths. Roofs are slanted at various angles from the ridge to either side. The roof boards are laid from end to end and usually covered with asphalt roofing material, but a few are shingled of handcut white oak shakes.

Whether reclaimed or new materials are used, there is little effort devoted to measurement, and the resultant structure gives an appearance of patch-work. A long board will suddenly leave off to be followed by shorter ones, almost as if the length of the house had grown after the first board was laid on and nailed. Pieces of two-by-four intended for joists will be cut before any accurate measure is taken, and if found to be too short, another shorter piece will be spliced on to make up the difference. There is a definite impression that the house will fall come the first wind storm, and indeed, even as houses are being built they sway from side to side with the weight of a person upon the roof. The appearance of instability is in part given because no plumbing is attempted as the house is built upward.

Some houses have heavy gauge tarpaper nailed around the outside to keep wind and rain from entering cracks between the boards, and this lessens the impression of piecing together. However, tarpaper is recognized as a temporary measure with the stated intention of later putting asphalt or milled siding on the outside. Among the conservative people this intention is rarely realized and houses are left permanently in a condition designed for immediate needs.

On the inside, linoleum may be put down upon the floor if it is available, and walls are often covered with cardboard from cartons obtained at the grocery store. Carnation Milk cartons are the most numerous.

Houses have separate kitchens and some have one or two bedrooms in addition to the main room. There is no distinction in function between the main room and a bedroom, for sleeping occurs in all but the kitchen. The kitchen forms a nucleus of family activities. The dark smoke-stained appearance of most kitchens doesn't appear to inhibit their use for social meeting and meals. The board table used by the family for eating their meals is also the work bench for basket-making and the cardtable for poker or jack-snaps. (14, pp. 46-8)

The houses of the simple frame type to which the above discussion applies are generally heated by the same wood-burning iron stove which is used for cooking. Plumbing of any sort is extremely rare, and when it does occur it is limited to a hand-pump or spigot in the kitchen. Though the windows are normally glazed, they and the doorways are rarely screened. Furniture consists of rough tables, chairs and stools, and wooden or iron bedsteads. One must remember, however, that there are dwellings of basically the same construction which are more elaborate in furnishing and equipment, some of which have additional wings providing greater living space.

Another type of frame house, often encountered in other parts of rural North Carolina and of occasional occurrence on the reservation, has two full and rather high stories, two or more brick chimneys, often a porch, and is roofed with sheet

iron or aluminum and sided with usually unpainted clapboards. This style apparently dates from the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Much more common is what might be called a bungalow-type house. Characteristically it has one full floor and a high sloping roof under which is either an attic or a room or two, ventilated and lighted with dormer windows. A porch, sometimes screened, runs the length of the front of the house. In such dwellings, bedrooms, living room, kitchen, and, often, dining room and bathroom are clearly distinguished from each other. Heating is provided by one or more kerosene room-furnaces whose flues are often connected to what was originally an open fireplace. Cooking may be done by wood, kerosene, gas, or electric stove. The exteriors are generally finished in painted clapboard or composition siding of some sort.

Although the majority of Eastern Cherokee families live in one of these four general types of house, there are others. Here and there, ranch-style house are being built, and concrete block is being used increasingly. Painttown has a good representation of house styles and, very roughly, they may be enumerated as follows:

Log or pole house	10
Simple frame house	50
Two-story frame	5
Bungalow type	26
Concrete block	3
Other	6

---

100 (Total N=104)

It must be remembered that the "simple frame" category covers a wide variety of quality of construction and maintenance and of quantity of equipment and furnishings. "Other" includes the dwellings of two families who have quarters built at the back of their shops, of two who live in apartments in the motels which they operate, and of two who live in house-trailers. None of these types of houses are peculiarly characteristic of any particular section, with the exception of the "other" category which is limited pretty much to the highway section of Painttown and of other townships.

Electricity is available in all parts of the reservation, and it is used rather extensively for domestic lighting if nothing else. There are, however, township differences. In Big Cove,

54 per cent of the houses are electrified, in Painttown, 74 per cent. In Painttown, however, 64 per cent of the households have electric refrigeration, as against 19 per cent in Big Cove. Doubtless, partly because of its relative inexpensiveness and ease of installation, domestic electrification is much more extensive than interior plumbing. In Painttown, 25 per cent of the houses have interior plumbing, which is characteristic of rural-farm North Carolina in general and is probably a higher rate than that of any other reservation township except Cherokee Village which has a public sewer and water system.

As Table 7 indicates, Cherokee houses tend to be crowded.

TABLE 7

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Big Cove Houses by Number of Rooms and Number of Inhabitants

No. Houses	Range No. persons per house	No. persons	Mean No. persons per house	No. rooms per house	Mean No. persons per room per house
8	2-14	50	6.25	1	6.25
19	2-11	120	6.34	2	3.26
21	1-12	142	6.76	3	2.25
20	2-11	130	6.50	4	1.06
3	2-6	12	4.00	5	.80
1	2	2	6.00	6	.33
2	8-9	17	8.50	7	1.22
1	4	4	4.00	12	.33

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Source: Davis 1957, p. 122.

Unfortunately, we do not have comparable data from any other township, but we do know that Big Cove houses in general are more crowded than those in Painttown, for the average size of a household in Big Cove is 6.30 persons whereas that in Painttown is 4.75 (11, p. 35).

## 2. HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY COMPOSITION

Despite the fact that Painttown households tend to be smaller than those of Big Cove, they nevertheless tend to be larger than those of the most nearly comparable population—the farm population of North Carolina.

Table 8 puts our Cherokee data into very revealing perspective in this regard.



TABLE 8

Household Size: United States, United States Farm, North Carolina, North Carolina Farm, Painttown, Big Cove

Size of Household (No. of persons)	* U.S. Total	** N.C. Total	* U.S. Farm	** N.C. Farm	*** Painttown	**** Big Cove	Average (Painttown & Big Cove combined)
1	9.3	5.4	5.0	2.9	1.9	1.3	1.6
2	28.1	21.9	23.4	15.9	15.4	12.0	13.7
3	22.1	22.6	20.4	18.9	21.2	5.3	13.7
4	18.4	18.6	18.1	17.7	17.3	13.3	15.3
5	10.4	12.5	12.8	14.6	11.7	12.0	11.8
6	5.3	7.4	8.1	10.1	9.6	12.0	10.8
7	2.7	4.6	5.0	7.4	9.6	10.7	10.2
8	1.4	2.7	3.0	4.8	1.9	10.7	6.3
9	0.8	1.8	1.9	3.4	2.8	8.0	5.4
10 or more	0.9	2.2	2.4	4.7	8.7	14.7	11.7

Sources: \* 1950 Census of Housing, Vol. 1, part 1, Table 10.

\*\* *ibid.*, Vol. 1, part 5, Table 10.

\*\*\* Cross-Cultural Laboratory Census, 1957.

\*\*\*\* Cross-Cultural Laboratory Census, 1956.



Combining some of these figures, we arrive at the percentage of households in each population which have 6 or more persons, as follows:

U. S. Total	11.1
N. C. Total	18.7
U. S. Farm	20.4
N. C. Farm	30.4
Painttown	32.6
Big Cove	56.1
Painttown and Big Cove, average	44.4

Painttown is more similar to rural North Carolina generally than it is to Big Cove (a characteristic which numerous observers would generalize to other matters as well). Yet it should be noted that the category of large household in which Painttown has significantly more units than rural North Carolina generally is that of extremely large households with ten or more persons, a category in which Big Cove excels.

The averages of Painttown and Big Cove must, for want of more complete data, be taken as representative of the reservation as a whole. We justify this on the grounds that the combined population of the two townships comprises a bit less than a third of the total reservation population and includes all varieties of ecological adaptation, degree of Indian inheritance, and so forth.

The reservation sample, then, continues the trend toward large households, many more large households than in rural North Carolina generally. The most similar figures which we have been able to discover come from a mountain community in eastern Kentucky, in which 44.2 per cent of the households had 6 or more persons, though only 5.2 per cent (as opposed to Cherokee's 17.1 per cent) had 9 or more (4, p. 21). The Kentucky community had no Indian cultural element in it whatsoever, so the question arises whether the frequency of large families cannot be attributed more to the mountain ecology (including, perhaps, scarcity of cash) than to the "Indianness" in the Cherokee population.

The answer to this question, and to any other question asking why Cherokee households are as they are, cannot be pursued further without a much closer look at the actual personnel of the households. In both Big Cove and Painttown, an effort was made to determine precisely who lived in each household and how they were related to each other, as indeed virtually all of

them were. (Only three households in Big Cove and Painttown included non-relatives, one apiece.) These data will be set forth below.

Before proceeding further, however, a comment is in order. There is a tendency in our culture to equate "family" with "household," it being assumed that the "family" consists simply of a married couple and their own minor children. While it is true that in many areas of our culture the personnel of the modal household do comprise only one nuclear family, this is not universally the case, as the Bureau of the Census recognizes. It is particularly not universally the case among the Eastern Cherokees whose large households are partially attributable to the fact that households are frequently inhabited by more than simple nuclear families. We shall endeavor to show rather precisely who these extra household members are, and in so doing, to convey some idea of the social milieu in which Eastern Cherokees eat, sleep, and make their first adjustments to life. "Household," therefore, is not to be equated with "family." "Household" refers to the basic eating and sleeping unit in the culture. We shall use "family" strictly in the sense of simple nuclear family, reserving such terms as "kinsmen," "kinship," "relatives," and so on, for reference to wider genetic and affinal ties. Our data are exclusively from Big Cove and Painttown, but we repeat our belief that these in combination can be taken as representative of the reservation as a whole.

Table 9 requires extensive comment. First of all, some technical matters must be clarified so that certain erroneous conclusions may not be drawn. The number of households consisting of married couples with no children may not be taken as an index of infertility. While a few of these couples have never had children, the majority are middle aged or elderly people whose children have established their own households.

"Pure nuclear" families are those in which both husband and wife are present, together with their own children, but with no one else. There are probably some inaccuracies in the "own children" aspects of this categorization, and probably several families in it should, if all the facts were known, be put into the "nuclear plus children by previous marriage" category. In regard to the latter itself, "previous marriage" may in some cases be a euphemism for illegitimate relationships. Widowed, divorced, and separated spouses are more frequent than is suggested in Table 9. A number of such persons are included in the

TABLE 9

Household Composition of Big Cove and Painttown by Type of Resident Kinship Unit

	Number of households	
	Big Cove	Painttown
<b>Incomplete Families</b>		
Widow living alone	1	0
Widow and female cousin	1	0
Couples with no children	7	11
Man living alone	0	2
Divorcee living alone	0	1
Widower and adult adopted son	0	1
<b>Total Incomplete</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Nuclear Families</b>		
Pure nuclear	32	44
Widow (or separated) with children	4	7
Widower with children	3	0
Nuclear and children by previous marriage	2	10
<b>Total Nuclear</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>Expanded Nuclear Kinship Units</b>		
Nuclear + sibling of husband or wife	0	5
Nuclear + spouse of child	1	2
Nuclear + nepotes of husband or wife	2	1
Nuclear + siblings + spouse of child	1	0
Nuclear + siblings + nepotes	0	1
<b>Total Expanded Nuclear</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Three-Generational Kinship Units</b>		
Nuclear + grandchildren	8	13
Nuclear + spouse of child + grandchildren	6	4
Nuclear + parent of husband or wife	3	0
Widower, wife's sister, her daughter, her granddaughter	1	0
Divorced man, his mother, 3 children	1	0
Nuclear + wife's mother, wife's brother and sister	1	0
Nuclear + wife's uncle, uncle's wife and their two children	1	0
Nuclear + man's mother, man's 3 nepotes, and one great neice	0	1
Nuclear + husband's aunt	0	1
<b>Total Three-Generational</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>104</b>

Sources: Cross-Cultural Laboratory Censuses of Big Cove (1956) and Painttown (1957).

Nuclear elements of the Expanded Nuclear and Three-Generational categories, but they have been made explicit only in certain cases which for other reasons have been put into classes by themselves.

While Table 9 is an oversimplification of a very complex situation, great care was taken not to force cases into preconceived categories which they did not fit—hence the numerous sub-categories. Furthermore, household composition among the Cherokees often has a fluid quality which the tabulation in print tends to “freeze.” A survey in both townships at this time of writing (1959) would undoubtedly show a reassortment of several sub-categories, omission of some, and addition of new combinations.

An illustration, perhaps somewhat extreme, is the case of a man (“X”) who, on returning from off-reservation, rented a house for his family (wife and two small children). After spending all their savings, they were unable to build their own house, and so moved in with one of X’s brothers. Quarrels, chiefly over the discipline of the children, led X and his family to live successively with two other brothers, with a daughter of X’s sister, and finally with X’s wife’s parents (14, pp. 85-7). Depending on the time of classification, this family would have been counted as pure-nuclear, as an element in two types of expanded nuclear, and as an element in a three-generational unit.

Nevertheless, certain modalities are revealed by Table 9 which we believe are indicative of socially significant patterns of behavior, and these lie in the nuclear family and three-generational family categories. Table 10 will serve as an additional point of departure for this discussion.

The large size of Big Cove households in general appears to be a result primarily of (1) the large number of children (4.25) per married couple, and (2) the relatively large number of kinship units which are three-generational and also very large. In Painttown, though the relative frequency of nuclear units is only slightly higher than in Big Cove, these units are definitely smaller. The frequency of three-generational units in Painttown is decidedly less than that in Big Cove and surprisingly small. The greater frequency and greater size of expanded nuclear families in Painttown is perhaps a bit startling. We cannot account for it but are inclined to think that it is, rather than being significant, more likely a product of “freezing” at a particular point in time of what is actually a rather fluid situation.

TABLE 10

## Types of Kinship Unit in Big Cove and Painttown

	Big Cove			Painttown		
	No.	Per Cent	Mean No. Persons	No.	Per Cent	Mean No. Persons
Incomplete	9	12.0	1.77	15	14.3	1.80
Total Nuclear	41	54.7	6.00	61	58.7	5.00
Expanded Nuclear	4	5.3	6.30	9	8.7	7.70
Three Generational	21	28.0	8.70	19	18.3	5.30
Total Units	75	100.0	6.30	104	100.0	4.75
Sub-category:						
Pure Nuclear	32	42.7	6.25	44	42.3	4.75



The absolutely greater size of Painttown-expanded nuclear families over three-generational families is probably a product of the same phenomenon. The largest Painttown household (12 persons) is indeed a three-generational one (husband, wife, son, daughter, daughter's husband, 5 grandsons, and 2 granddaughters), but it happens that none of the six next largest units (10 persons each) are three-generational. Four are expanded nuclear, with the following composition:

1. Husband, wife, 3 daughters, 1 son, wife's 2 nieces and 1 nephew, wife's sister.
2. Husband, wife, 5 daughters, 2 sons, daughter's husband.
3. Husband, wife, 5 daughters, 2 sons, husband's brother.
4. Husband, wife, 4 sons, 3 daughters, daughter's husband, while 2 are nuclear—in both cases the number of children augmented by the presence of wife's children by a previous union.

By contrast, the average size of Painttown's three-generational units is greatly reduced by the fact that nine of these 19 units are smaller than the average nuclear family in Painttown. The composition of these extremely small three-generational families is as follows:

1. Husband, wife, 1 grandson.
2. Woman and 1 grandson.
3. Man, son, son's wife, 1 granddaughter.
4. Husband, wife, adopted daughter, 1 grandson.
5. Woman, 2 daughters, 1 granddaughter.
6. Man, daughter, 1 grandson.
7. Woman, son, 2 grandchildren.
8. Woman and 1 granddaughter.
9. Husband, wife, daughter, grandson.

These cases, incidentally, provide several illustrations of divorced, separated or widowed family participants whose existence is not, as mentioned earlier, indicated in Table 9. In Big Cove there are only four three-generational units which are smaller than the average Big Cove nuclear family.

Having dealt with some extremes in terms of size, we shall now present those cases of expanded nuclear and three generational units which have approximately the average number of people for their type and township.

Expanded nuclear:

Painttown (7 or 8 persons):

1. Husband, wife, 4 sons, wife's brother.
2. Husband, wife, 5 daughters, husband's brother.



Big Cove (5 or 6 persons) :

1. Husband, wife, 2 sons, wife's brother's son.

Three-Generational:

Painttown (5 or 6 persons) :

1. Husband, wife, daughter, 2 grandsons, 1 granddaughter.
2. Woman, 2 daughters, 1 granddaughter, 1 grandson.
3. Husband, wife, daughter, daughter's husband, 2 grandsons.
4. Woman, 2 daughters, daughter's husband, 1 granddaughter, 1 grandson.

Big Cove (8 or 9 persons) :

1. Husband, wife, 3 sons, 2 daughters, 1 grandchild.
2. Husband, wife, 1 daughter, wife's uncle, uncle's wife, uncle's son and daughter.
3. Husband, wife, 3 sons, 2 grandchildren of husband, 1 daughter of wife.
4. Husband, wife, 2 sons, 3 daughters, 2 grandchildren.
5. Husband, wife, 3 sons, 3 daughters, wife's mother.
6. Husband, wife, 2 daughters, wife's mother, wife's sister, wife's 2 brothers.

Is the frequency of expanded nuclear and three-generational kinship units among the Eastern Cherokees significantly greater than it is in the rural farm population of the United States and of North Carolina generally? After having consulted various publications based on the 1950 United States Census, we find ourselves unable to answer this question for certain. We do know that Cherokee households as a whole are definitely larger; and we know that large, three-generational households contribute to this over-all size and that such households occur with greater frequency in Big Cove than in Painttown—which, in a number of respects, resembles rural farm North Carolina more than it does Big Cove.

Very cautiously, then, we hypothesize that there may be some special factors in the Cherokee situation which help to account for these phenomena. One factor may be sheer poverty. We know that the Cherokees as a whole are poor by comparison with rural North Carolina, and we know that Big Cove as a whole is less prosperous than Painttown. One participant in the Cross-Cultural Laboratory's research, who worked almost en-

tirely among the Conservative Indians of Big Cove, states that in multiple households (*i.e.*, expanded nuclear and three-generational), only one adult or adult couple is regarded as being the owner of the house. All others are regarded as transients whose building of their own houses is expected sooner or later. This fact, together with reports of frequent friction in such households, is interpreted as implying the nuclear family to be the ideal household type. In addition, explicit statements to this effect were made by informants (14, pp. 84-5). Inability to build or rent one's own house apparently is primarily due to lack of financial means.

Another factor is the presence of illegitimate children. In Big Cove, five of the eight households which consist of nuclear families and grandchildren are known to include illegitimate children. The grandchildren are the illegitimate children of one of the daughters of the husband and wife (7, p. 72). In Painttown, eight of the thirteen such households are known to include illegitimate children. However, the number (12) of these children is less than half of the total number (28) of known illegitimate children in Painttown. The care of illegitimate children, therefore, is frequently, but not necessarily always, managed by the mother's and her children's living in her parents' household.

Yet another possible factor in the apparently unusually frequent occurrence of expanded nuclear and three-generational units may lie in certain values characteristic of the more Conservative Indians. Grant (14, p. 85) makes the point in his discussion of Big Cove households of the difficulty which Conservatives have in refusing hospitality to relatives in need. (And in a later chapter we shall discuss more fully this aspect of the ethical system of Conservative Cherokee culture.) Cherokees who are culturally Conservative are generally in the  $3/4$  to  $4/4$  range of degree of Indian inheritance. We might expect, then, to find a relationship between degree of Indian inheritance of the dominant couple in a household and the type of family unit constituting that household. In Big Cove, to be sure, all of the three-generational households are headed by men and/or wives in this range of inheritance. Since, however, most of the couples in the township are in this range anyway—many of whom do not live in other-than-nuclear families—no conclusion can be reached.

In Painttown, however, couples with minimal Indian inheri-

tance are quite numerous, and we have a better opportunity to test the hypothesis. Seventy per cent of the expanded nuclear and three-generational households in Painttown are headed by couples in which either the man or the wife or both has  $\frac{3}{4}$  or more of Indian inheritance (11, p. 79), while 58.9 per cent of Painttown households in general are headed by such people. Table 11 enables us to view this situation more precisely.

TABLE 11

Types of Kinship Unit in Painttown by Degree of Indian Inheritance of Head Husband and/or Wife

Type of Unit		Degree of Inheritance	
		4/4 to 3/4	Less than 3/4
	3 Generational	13	6
	Expanded Nuclear	4	5
	Nuclear & Incomplete	44	32
	Totals	61	43

On the basis of percentages, there would seem to be a slight relationship between three-generational kinship units and high degree of Indian inheritance, for 21.3 per cent of households headed by  $\frac{3}{4}$  to  $\frac{4}{4}$  Indian people are three-generational, as opposed to 13.9 per cent of households headed by less than  $\frac{3}{4}$  Indian people. The relationship is, however, certainly slight, and so we subjected these figures—that is, frequency of three-generational households as against all other types—to the chi-square test and found that the frequencies are not statistically significant. This means that the frequencies of three-generational households headed by  $\frac{3}{4}$ - $\frac{4}{4}$  Indians and by less-than- $\frac{3}{4}$  Indians could have occurred by chance as far as the “Indianness” of the heads is concerned. Furthermore, of the 19 households in Painttown which are headed by couples both members of which are  $\frac{4}{4}$  Indian, only five are three-generational, two are expanded nuclear, and 12 are nuclear or incomplete. Five of these “most Indian” three-generational households include the largest household in Painttown (12 persons), one with 9 persons, one with 7, one with 5, and one with 3. For what it is worth, the average size of these households is 7.2 persons, a figure nearer to the average size of Big Cove three-generational households than to the average size of such households in Painttown.

Our conclusion is that although Conservative Cherokee values of generosity and hospitality may to some extent contribute to the formation of three-generational households, two other "necessity" factors—poverty and the care of illegitimate children—appear to be more potent. Most particularly we are not warranted in concluding that three-generational kinship units are positively valued among Conservative Eastern Cherokees, although they are somewhat more frequent among them. In the summer of 1958, two years after the Big Cove data analyzed above were gathered, the number of households in the township was 85, rather than 75. The ten new households had been formed largely by the division of households which had been three-generational in 1956. Whether this represents a definite trend or whether it is merely one phase of a generally elastic situation, we do not know. In any event, the fact of this change over a two-year period should be instructive in view of our conclusions concerning preferences for particular household sizes and the problem of synchronic "freezing."

### 3. MARRIAGE AND KINSHIP TIES

Our consideration of the basic dwelling units of the Eastern Cherokees shows them to be inhabited almost exclusively by kinship units, of which the nuclear family is the most numerous type, followed by several sub-types of three-generational units.

How are these units established and what relationships are there between them?

Being kinship units, their establishment obviously involves marriage. Yet marriage ties are apparently often not formalized in this population. This is a subject on which we do not have extensive or precise information. A prevailing local stereotype, however, is that the "common law" marriage is typical of the Eastern Cherokees. We cannot directly confirm or deny this. We can, however, attest to the frequently encountered matter-of-fact frankness concerning illegitimate children born both in and out of wedlock, and suggest that this may imply similarly matter-of-fact attitudes toward common law marriage. The information on illegitimate children noted earlier was entirely volunteered by informants, often the mothers themselves. There was no probing on this subject. It is our impression that the wedding, as a rite of passage, has less symbolic emphasis among the Eastern Cherokees than it does among urban middle class Americans, for example.



Mate selection, whether or not it is formalized, produces on-going kinship groups, and we must consider this subject among the Eastern Cherokees for two reasons in particular. First, mate selection in aboriginal Cherokee culture was intimately interwoven with the kinship system of that culture, and in considering to what extent the aboriginal kinship system remains at the present time, marriage and kinship must be considered together. Second, it is the marriages of persons with differing degrees of Indian inheritance (beginning, originally, with persons wholly Indian and wholly non-Indian) which has created the wide range of degrees of Indian inheritance in the present population. Are there any trends or patterns in this matter?

At the time of their first contact with Europeans, the Cherokees were divided into seven matrilineal aggregations, all or most of which were represented in each town. Inasmuch as none of the aggregations could be traced back to a common ancestress, but all were named and exogamous, they should, in G. P. Murdock's terms, be designated as "sibs." However, they are universally referred to as "clans" in the literature. At the local, immediate level, each Cherokee found himself to be a member of a matrilineage, a segment of his mother's clan, consisting, minimally, of his own siblings, his mother, his mother's siblings, his mother's sisters' children (some of his first cousins); his mother's mother, her siblings, her sisters' children (some of his mother's first cousins), her sisters' daughters' children (some of his second cousins), and so on.

Three other matrilineages also engaged the individual's interest: father's matrilineage, father's father's matrilineage and mother's father's matrilineage. Father's lineage included father, father's siblings, father's sisters' children (some of the individual's first cousins), father's mother; father's mother's siblings, her sisters' children, her sisters' daughters' children (some of the individual's second cousins), etc.

Father's father's matrilineage included father's father's siblings, his sisters' children, his sisters' daughters' children (some sisters' daughter's children (some of the individual's second cousins), etc.

Mother's father's matrilineage included mother's father's siblings, his sisters' children (some of mother's first cousins), his sisters' daughter's children (some of the individual's second cousins), etc.

Each of these four lineages, to one of which the individual belonged and the other three with which he was intimately associated, represented one of the seven Cherokee clans. Behavior appropriate to members of a given matrilineage was extended to include every member of the clan to which that matrilineage belonged. In brief, members of mother's (own) and father's matrilineages (and therefore clans) were forbidden for marriage purposes and were generally to be treated with respect. Members of the matrilineages of the two grandfathers, however, were available for marriage purposes. In fact, such marriages were encouraged, and with members of these lineages coarse joking and rough-housing were allowed and expected (13, pp. 207-9).

This kinship system provided the individual with a formalized method by which he would know automatically how to behave with the majority of people with whom he ordinarily came in contact. If, for example, he were in a strange town, he could expect hospitality from people bearing the same clan name as his own matrilineage; or, he could seek a wife from among people bearing the clan names of either of his grandfathers' matrilineages.

This kinship system differed in several radical respects from that which Americans of European origin use. It was based on descent in the female line which resulted in inclusion of some close relatives (such as aunts and uncles and first cousins) in certain groups but exclusion of other close relatives. By contrast, the standard American system gives equal weight to all relatives within the three-generational, bilateral kindred, with only minor emphasis on descent—chiefly in regard to the family name—and this in the male, not female, line. While it designated some close genetic relatives as being lineage mates and excluded other close relatives, the Cherokee system included as lineage mates a large number of more distant relatives and made it possible to establish kin-type relationships with a number of persons with whom no genetic connection could necessarily be demonstrated—both in complete contrast to the standard American system.

The extent to which the clan system has survived among the Eastern Cherokees is a question which has interested a number of observers. It must be approached in several ways. A few objective facts can be stated without hesitation: (1) the old town organization, in which there was a council organized by



clan, was generally defunct long before the Removal, although there may have been a brief attempt to revive it after 1838 (16, p. 248); (2) the standard American family name system—patrilineal—has been used by all Eastern Cherokees since the middle of the nineteenth century; (3) the non-Indian inheritance of many Eastern Cherokees has tended to weaken the clan system by removing people from possible clan membership.

Nevertheless, it cannot be assumed from these facts alone that the clan system, as a system, is defunct. To what extent are the people aware of possible clan membership and the rules associated with it? In 1935 and 1936 Bloom (3, p. 266) conducted a survey among a sample of some 60 Eastern Cherokees who had maximal Indian inheritance and exhibited such Conservative traits as preference for the Cherokee language. His sample was divided into six age decades of about equal size, from the age of 70 and over to persons in their 20's. Bloom found a steady decrease in knowledge about the clan system from the oldest to the youngest. Those 70 and over indicated an almost, but not quite, perfect knowledge of (1) the names of the seven clans, (2) exogamy rules, (3) name of mother's clan, (4) name of own clan, (5) name of father's clan, (6) name of spouse's clan, and (7) name of children's clan. Those in their 20's were, on the average, able to name only one clan, and the following percentages of them gave correct answers on the other subjects: exogamy rules, 10 per cent; name of mother's clan, 20 per cent; name of own clan, 30 per cent; name of father's clan, 20 per cent; name of spouse's clan 12 per cent; name of children's clan, 14 per cent. Those in their 30's and 40's did considerably better, with 70 per cent and 80 per cent of them, respectively, knowing their mother's and their own clan, and apparently knowing that the two clans were identical. However, neither of these groups did so well on the other questions.

This survey indicates considerable ignorance of the clan system among even Conservative people. Ignorance, of course, means inability to make the system function, and rudimentary knowledge of it does not necessarily mean that the people with such knowledge actually make the system function. The age trend in ignorance would suggest that ignorance is more widespread now than it was when Bloom made his survey.

Somewhat earlier (1932) Gilbert made a survey of clan affiliations of husbands and wives in 321 Eastern Cherokee

families. Of these, 8 per cent were absolutely clanless (mostly people of minimal Indian inheritance); 22 per cent had only one spouse (unfortunately he does not say which one) who had clan affiliation; 9 per cent had husbands and wives who had the same clan (violation of exogamy); and 61 per cent had both spouses belonging to different clans (13, p. 206). Gilbert's implication seems to be that the 61 per cent actually functioned consciously in accordance with clan rules, but he does not demonstrate this.

More recently, Paul Kutsche, a participant in the Cross-Cultural Laboratory's research, compared Gilbert's findings in Big Cove in 1932 with his own in 1956 and 1957. In brief, he found that only 21 per cent of marriages in the later period apparently conformed to the rules of clan exogamy, as against Gilbert's 83 per cent (25, p. 9). We say "apparently conformed" because it is by no means clear that these marriages were contracted consciously in accordance with the rules. Among those not conforming to the old marriage rules at the time of Gilbert's study was none other than the late Will West Long, informant to several anthropologists, and very Conservative in many ways, who, apparently without compunction or stigma, was married to a member of his own clan (25, p. 3).

Additional light on this matter is provided by Robert K. Thomas, himself a Cherokee (from Oklahoma), who participated in the Cross-Cultural Laboratory during the winter of 1957-58. He reports that elderly, Cherokee-speaking persons characteristically wanted to "place" him (a stranger) in terms of his own clan affiliation, but that such behavior was limited to elderly people.

Thomas also systematically gathered some very telling information on the terms used for relatives in the Cherokee language by 24 people who speak that language by preference. The aboriginal Cherokee kinship terms (13, pp. 216-38) were adapted very closely to the behavioral system described earlier. Widespread among matrilineal American Indians, this "Crow-system" of kinship terminology is in sharp contrast in its patterns to the standard American one. Those speakers of the Cherokee language who still use the Crow-system presumably still attempt to follow, or at least to idealize, the old behavioral system. On the other hand, those Cherokee speakers who, in speaking Cherokee, have modified the Crow-system have almost certainly modi-

fied the behavior associated with it. There could be no other reason for their change in terminological usage.

Of Thomas's sample of 24 persons, ten were over 65 years of age. Of these, eight use the Crow-system. Of the 14 younger than 65, only one uses it, and he is himself middle aged. The 15 persons not using the Crow-system have, generally speaking, applied some of the Cherokee terms in such a way as to form a pattern which resembles the English one used in standard American culture. In other words, they use, in Cherokee, a generally bilateral system of terms (46, p. 32).

This is not a matter of word play or insignificant changing fashions. The Crow-system enabled the speaker economically to identify members of the four lineages with which he was intimately associated, an ability of considerable practical importance since so much behavior hinged upon lineage membership. Among other things, the system differentiated father's siblings from mother's siblings and first cousins from each other according to their lineage-membership. It also widely employed the same term for members of the same lineage, regardless of generation. To persons participating in standard American culture—in which there are no lineages, in which father's siblings are not distinguished behaviorally from mother's siblings, in which all first cousins are treated alike as far as kinship expectations are concerned, and in which the terminological system is wholly consistent with the behavioral norms—the Crow-system is as impractical as it is bizarre. Therefore, when we find indications that a majority of Conservative Cherokees under 65 years of age have modified the kinship terms of their language into a pattern similar to the English one, it is safe to assume that they had practical, behavioral reasons (*i.e.*, change from matrilineal to bilateral non-linear behavioral patterns) for doing so. In this whole matter, the Eastern Cherokee situation appears to be essentially the same as the Oklahoma Cherokee one (41.)

Our conclusion is that, except in the minds of some of the very old people, clans and lineages no longer exist as social groups among the Eastern Cherokees. Thomas writes that his data seem

... to indicate a sharp generational break between those born before 1900 and those born after 1900. The whole community did not change, but one generation did, probably sometime in the twenties and thirties.

Everyone says, 'They sure were great for that clan business around here before World War I and when I was growing up'. (46, p. 32)

Bloom's findings would seem to be consistent with this.

If the lineage and clan system is defunct as far as wider kinship connections are concerned, may there not still be some vestiges of a matrilineal tendency within household kinship units? Several observers feel that, regardless of their formal structure, many households revolve, economically at least, more around a relatively stable female figure, such as the wife, than they do around the husband. We can only record here the existence of this impression, and leave the elucidation of its subtleties to those who have originated it. As far as formal personnel are concerned, there are only very slight indications of households tending to focus around a core of females. Of the 179 households in Big Cove and Painttown, 16 are headed by women, apparently without the assistance of an adult male; and apparently there are no households headed by males alone without the assistance of females. The latter, however, since most households are child-raising units, would not be expected to occur no matter what the male-female dominance patterns might be.

In regard to the sex of spouses of children living in expanded nuclear and three-generational households, we find six daughter's husbands, but these are evenly matched by six son's wives! Siblings and nepotes of the husband and wife tend, indeed, to cluster around the wife. There are four households which include nieces and nephews of the husband. There are six households which include siblings (three cases involving brothers and three involving sisters) of the wife, as opposed to three cases involving siblings of the husband. In Painttown—we do not have sufficiently accurate information from Big Cove—there are nine households which include children of the wife only by a previous union, and only one which includes children of the husband only by a previous union. In this matter, as in the matter of the association of larger-than-nuclear households with a high degree of Indian inheritance, the relevant case material suggests certain trends; but the number of relevant cases is so small, and the number of exceptions to the trends is relatively so large, that one wonders if the frequencies could not have been accidental. At any rate, the evidence for matri-centered households is hardly overwhelming, and at this we must leave the subject.



We cannot, however, yet leave the subject of kinship and marriage. Our findings from Big Cove and Painttown show that kinship contacts between households are frequent and that the ties between them are extensive. In Big Cove, 90.7 per cent of the households have at least one adult member who has at least one parent, sibling or child in another Big Cove household (7, p. 70). Nearly all of the individuals in question are involved in both parent-child and sibling relationships in other households. In about one third of the households in Big Cove, both the husband and the wife have adult siblings living in the township; and in about one fifth of them, both the husband and the wife have both adult siblings and parents living in Big Cove (7, p. 140). Whether or not Big Cove people now disapprove of first cousin marriages of any sort is not known. There are evidently no second cousin marriages known of at the present time (7, p. 77). Even if there are some whose existence was not detected, it is perhaps remarkable that, considering the frequency and intensity of cousin relationships in the township, they are not more frequent. Avoidance of close-cousin marriage may be one reason for the fact that about one half of Big Cove marriages are contracted with persons from other townships (7, p. 78). The fact that first and second cousin marriages are unusual in Big Cove does not, of course, mean that Big Cove husbands and wives may not be related, probably in multiple fashion, more distantly.

The situation in Painttown is similar, but perhaps slightly less intense. In 86 per cent of the households, either the husband or the wife, or both, have siblings, parents, or adult children living in the township (11, p. 86). In 45 per cent of the households, the husband and/or the wife have parents in the township. In eight of these, both the husband and the wife have resident parents; in 18 only the wives and in 11 only the husbands do. In 75 per cent of the households, the husband and/or the wife have siblings or half-siblings who are resident in the township (11, p. 88). The frequency of husbands and wives who have both resident parents and resident siblings is less than it is in Big Cove.

As might be expected, the interactions between households in both townships involve a large amount of interaction between genetic relatives. The subject of visiting, per se, will be considered later, in Chapter VII; but it is pertinent at this point to note our impression that inter-household interactions which

involve relatives *as relatives* are dominated by interactions within the individual's nuclear families of procreation and orientation. Our research has brought to light no significant patterns of interaction among more distant relatives, despite the fact that such relatives abound.

Kinship ties beyond individual households have some bearing on the character of some of the sections which were considered in an earlier chapter at some length. Notable examples are the Upper Cove section of Big Cove, in which 25 of the 27 households are linked to each other by parent-child and/or sibling relationships (7, p. 104) and the Old Soco Road and Rich Farm sections of Painttown in which there are similar, though less extensive, ties. Generally speaking, one frequently finds adult children located near their parents and adult siblings located near each other. However, we know of no section which is the exclusive preserve of any one kindred.

Annie Cofield Gardner (11, p. 85) records her impression that "kinship clusters" in Painttown (such as that of adult siblings living in separate households) frequently seem to exhibit homogeneous patterns in regard to social participation in a particular church or association or in regard to lack of interest or participation in certain associations. Her analysis, however, adduces only positive instances of this, and we do not know how many negative instances could be adduced.

Our general conclusion regarding Eastern Cherokee kinship organization is that the most significant kinship groups are those enclosed in the four walls of individual households, but that this over-all pattern, which is the expected one for American culture generally, deviates to some extent from the expected norms in that: (1) a relatively large number of households consist of more than simple nuclear families; (2) a few people entertain vestigial sentiments associated with the aboriginal Cherokee kinship system; and (3) a relatively large number of bilateral ties, which originated at an earlier point in time within individual households, now link separate households.

This discussion of kinship began with a consideration of marriage patterns. It is now necessary to revert to the matter of marriage choices as related to degrees of Indian inheritance. Thomas (45, p. 24) records his impression, based on a number of cases from the reservation as a whole, that at the present time, young adults with minimal Indian inheritance are tending to marry persons with more Indian inheritance than they



(though normally not maximum Indian inheritance) rather than people of minimal Indian inheritance. If they value membership in the Band for their children, this is, of course, the only way in which they can help to insure it for them.

The only other data we have which bear on this subject are from Painttown whose married population polarizes into two aggregations: those with  $\frac{3}{4}$  to complete Indian inheritance—46 per cent—and those with  $\frac{1}{4}$  or less or no Indian inheritance—40 per cent) (11, p. 46). The middle range of Indian inheritance is greatly under-represented among Painttown married people as compared to the reservation population as a whole. Table 12 may be read only in the light of this serious limitation.

This table does not indicate that people with  $\frac{1}{4}$  or less to no Indian inheritance prefer spouses with more Indian inheritance than they, although it does show that, relatively speaking, more of them are married to such persons than people with maximum Indian inheritance are married to people with less. It is also worthy of note that of the 23 Painttown marriages in which neither spouse has more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  Indian inheritance, only 7 are in the age group under 40, and several of these are in their late 30's, while 16 of the 34 marriages in this age-class are those in which both spouses have maximum Indian inheritance. At any rate, Thomas feels that if the apparent over-all trends continue, holding constant the present minimum degree of Indian inheritance qualifying for membership in the Band, the proportion of  $\frac{1}{4}$  and less persons will decrease and that of middle range persons will increase (45, p. 42).

## CHAPTER VI. SURVIVAL

### 1. BIRTH AND POPULATION

The subject of beliefs and practices revolving around prenatal care, birth itself, and post-parturience pertains to the whole matter of child-raising which is of particular interest to two of the participants in the research of the Cross-Cultural Laboratory. It is one of several specialized subjects which, though an important aspect of Eastern Cherokee culture, will be dealt with only briefly in this monograph, since we expect that it will be given expert attention in the writings of other participants in the research.

It is, however, relevant at this particular point to note that women from all sectors of the Eastern Cherokee population

TABLE 12

Degree of Indian Inheritance of Painttown Husbands by That of Their Wives.

## WIVES

HUSBANDS	WIVES				
	4/4	3/4 - 31/32	Middle	1/32 - 1/4	0
4/4	17	12	1	4	0
3/4 - 31/32	2	8	2	1	0
Middle	2	1	4	2	2
1/32 - 1/4	4	4	5	5	0
0	1	1	5	6	10
					2

Source: Gardner 1958, p. 83.

seem to prefer to go to the hospital, if they can, to have their babies. In the hospital or out, the stereotype of "Indian stoicism" in the face of pain is borne out by observations of women in childbirth (36, pp. 4-5).

In regard to the results of childbirth, Cherokee Agency figures for 1952-1956 show a sex-ratio of 88.5 at birth (7, p. 26). In other words, 88 or 89 boys to every 100 girls were delivered during this period. This ratio contrasts with that of the United States as a whole in which about 105 or 106 boys are born for every 100 girls (7, p. 23). Whether or not the low sex-ratio at birth among the Eastern Cherokees can be attributed to the high mortality of male fetuses whose mothers are living under severe socio-economic conditions, as has been suggested by experts in this field, we are not qualified to say.

Figures 1 and 2, the age-sex population pyramids of Big Cove and Painttown, indicate a preponderance of the younger age-groups and a dearth of males in the middle-range adult age-groups (due, possibly, to off-reservation employment) which may contrast with the population at large.

## 2. DIET

What is an "adequate diet"? Some specialists seem to be sure that they know; and they tell us, among other things, of the splendid per capita caloric intake provided by the standard American middle class cuisine which is so much higher than that provided by the average fare in other cultures. This cuisine is often defined eulogistically as a balance of meat, milk, eggs, fresh vegetables, and fruits. If this is the standard for adequacy, then many Eastern Cherokees fall below it. Yet it must be admitted that this standard, dependent upon technological factors like refrigeration, is one which has been successfully done without by most human beings for most of human history. Its adequacy is subject to cultural definition as well as to nutritional criteria. In other words, the simple question of adequacy begs the question of "adequate for what?"

Obviously, an adequate diet is at least one which is not associated with any gross symptoms known to be caused by outright deficiencies nor with inability to engage in physical exertion. On both of these counts the diet of most Cherokees is, as far as we know, adequate. Real hunger does occur in the population, especially in winter when cash is apt to be short, but this would appear to be an economic, rather than a nutri-

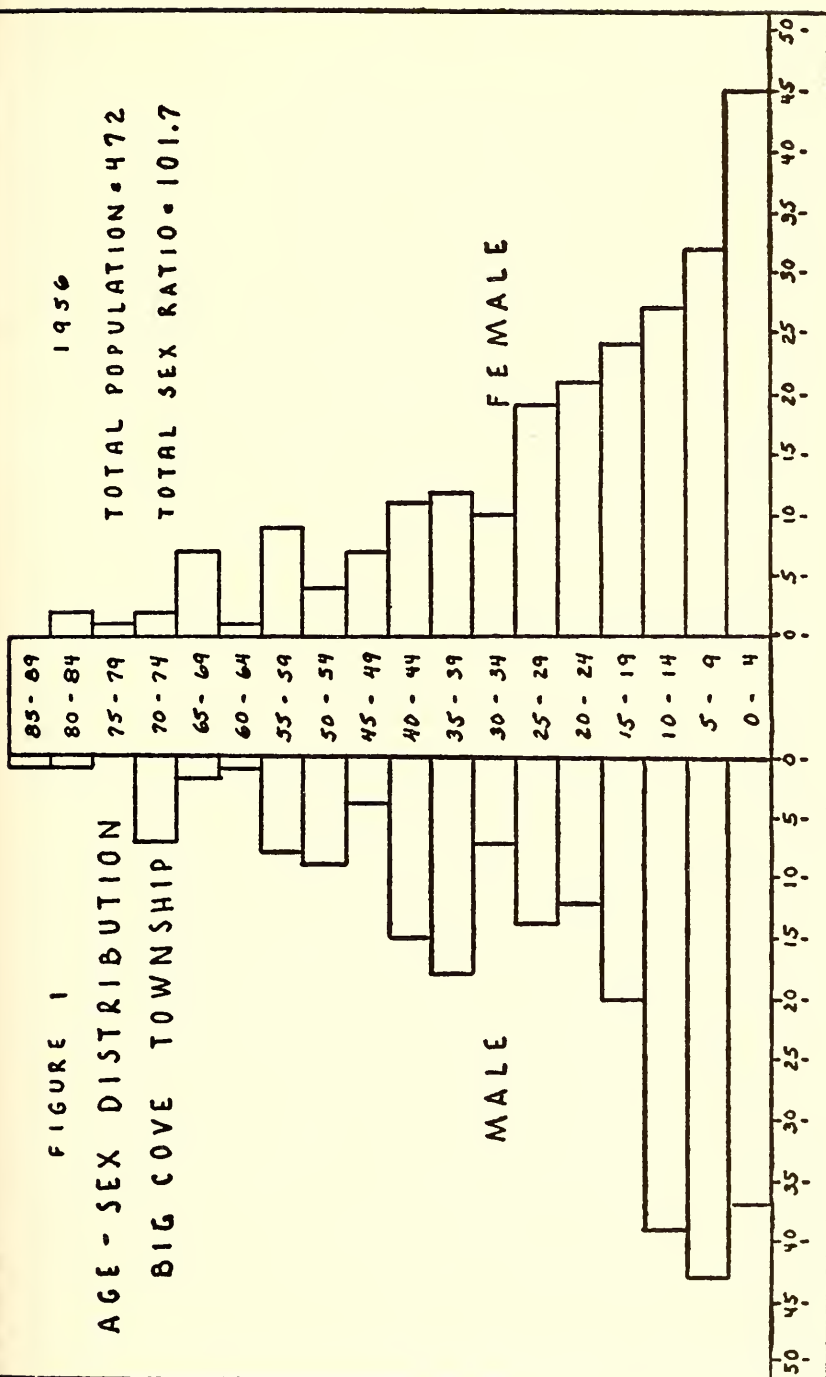
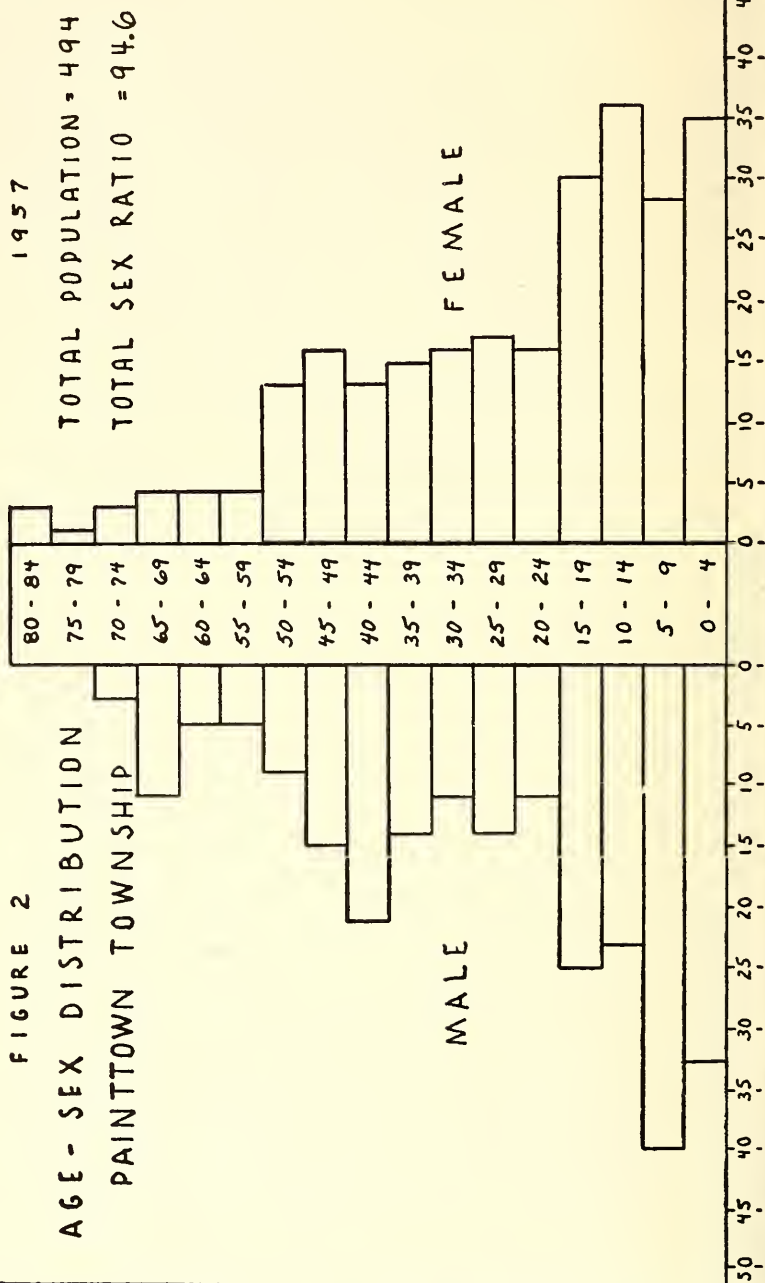


FIGURE 2

## AGE - SEX DISTRIBUTION

## PAINTTOWN TOWNSHIP



tional, problem. However, one health official reported to participants in the laboratory the results of a survey vitamin test which indicated definite deficiency in the population, but the significance of this test was denied by another health official. We are not in a position to render judgment in the matter. A study of 510 children in the Cherokee Central School in 1957-58, revealed only 6 cases of moderate and one of severe anemia (33, p. 2). Whether this state of health can be attributed to the school lunch program—which is not available, of course, to the majority of the population—we do not know.

An explanation for dealing with the subject at all, if so inconclusively, is in order. It is this: a number of observers are of the opinion that the diet of some Eastern Cherokees, particularly those whose general way of life least resembles that of standard middle class Americans, may be a cause of what they see as the general listlessness, apathy, and lack of initiative in these people. The corollary of this opinion is that were these people to ingest more proteins, for example, their energy—"psychic energy" in this case—would increase. Were this hypothesis to be proved correct, the relevance of the rather elaborate psychological and culturological theorizing in Part III of this volume might be called into serious question. Since it has not been tested, the diet hypothesis has not been proved one way or the other. One wonders whether, in the present state of knowledge of the medical, psychological, and culturological sciences—all of which would be involved—it could be adequately tested at the present time. Be this as it may, we feel that the diet hypothesis, even though we can at the moment do nothing with it, should not be cast aside. Someday and somehow it should be tested.

Some impressions of the dietary content of the most Conservative Eastern Cherokees are now in order. At the outset, we should point out that the interplay of a cash economy and a no longer sufficient subsistence farming economy is clearly revealed in this matter. There is heavy dependence on such items as flour, frankfurters, cake and pie mixes, coffee, and soft drinks (consumed in great quantity) which must be bought at food stores. In each township, there is at least one very small retail outlet where many of these items can be bought, but considerable trade is done at larger stores in Cherokee Village and especially at the chain stores in Bryson City, ten miles west of Cherokee Village, and in Sylva, ten miles to the south.



Meat (other than frankfurters), eggs, and milk (at least fresh milk) are purchased less frequently. Some people keep a few hens from which eggs are obtained, and chicken is a special, festive treat. Aboriginal Cherokee culture was heavily dependent upon meat, hunted in the vast forests by the men. Game is now scarce and small—mostly squirrels and rabbits, although a bear is occasionally shot. Fishing, however, is a very popular activity and it certainly contributes to meals, but to what extent we do not know.

The amount of homegrown produce varies, of course, with the providence of the householder. Nearly all Conservative households raise some vegetables—chiefly corn, beans, squash, and potatoes. Corn is eaten in a number of ways: as fresh roasted ears, as pan bread, and as “bean bread.” The last is one of the few specifically Indian dishes which is prepared. It consists of usually fist-sized lumps of moist but rather solidified corn meal into which whole beans have been mixed.

In general, there is a tendency to employ fattening ingredients in cooking—grease, starch, and sugar—to an extent which may be undesirable from the point of view of health. Fat babies are considered to be healthy babies, and infants are fed gravies and starchy preparations as soon as possible after birth. Extended into adulthood, this regime aggravates the problems of treating diabetes whose incidence is rather high in the population (36, p. 3).

Corn grinding may be done by mechanical means, but some Conservative women still use the aboriginal wooden pestle and mortar for this purpose. The pestle is usually four or five feet long and about two inches in diameter except at one end which is widened to as much as ten inches in diameter for about the same length. The mortar is a section of log about three feet high and a foot and a half in diameter whose upper end is excavated to a depth of about ten inches. The dimensions of these instruments vary somewhat, depending upon the materials on hand at the time of manufacture and on the stature and preferences of the women for whom they are made to order. The pestle is raised vertically with both hands, the weighted end upwards.

As in aboriginal times, a considerable variety of wild greens is gathered in season by women and children. There is, in fact, a still active herbal lore, both culinary and medicinal; but this is

another subject, discussion of which we defer to those who have special knowledge of and interest in it.

Canning (*i.e.*, preserving vegetables in glass jars) is a summer activity which many women engage in to some degree. It seems unusual, however, for a housewife to preserve enough vegetables to last through the winter. It is during the winter that cash is likely to be shortest, and it is in this season that there is often the greatest dependence upon purchased food-stuffs. One reason why many Conservative women do not preserve as much as they might in summer is that it is during this season that other occupations which provide quick cash returns are available. These opportunities can hardly be ignored. This situation clearly calls for rather careful, future-oriented planning in order that maximum efficiency in it may be achieved.

### 3. FARMING AND WAGE EARNING

While the over-all economic situation of the reservation has already been reviewed, some more specific information from Big Cove and Painttown is available. The information is, however, only relatively more specific, and under the circumstances it can be nothing more. Only a very few persons have full-time jobs which exclude all others. Among those who have dependable incomes, there are those who earn their living from more than one source. For example, consider three men, one of whom has an Agency job, the second of whom works for the Historical Association, and the third of whom manages a service station. Yet one of these men also owns a prosperous farm specializing in livestock and tobacco, and each of the other two owns and operates a motel. How does one classify these men in terms of occupation? The problem is more complicated in the great majority of cases in which subsistence farming occupies greater or lesser amounts of intermittent time, combined with wage-earning occupations, more than one of which may be done concurrently or for only a few days or on and off, or for the summer only, and so on. To obtain a truly realistic picture of this would require an exact time schedule and financial accounting from a sufficiently large and representative sample. This the Cross-Cultural Laboratory had not the time, the inclination, nor the authority to do.

With these cautions in mind, let us look first at some material—all collected by Charles H. Holzinger—from Big Cove.

None of the households derives all of its subsistence from

farming, although in a "sizeable minority" of them it appears to be the basic source of food. Wage-earning (especially in the summer) and welfare payments of various types (especially in the winter) are the primary sources of income, although in what proportions is not known. On August 1, 1958, about 50 Big Cove residents were employed outside the township (only 2 of them off-reservation). "Only 18 of these positions would continue through the winter and of the 18, less than half could be considered as affording full-time employment." (Charles H. Holzinger, field notes.)

During the whole summer of 1958, however, there were 70 wage-earners (50 men and 20 women). In other words, at any time during the summer, not all the wage-earners were actually working. Furthermore, in thirty-five of the households, no one was employed on a regular basis during the summer. In four households 3 persons were employed; in fourteen households 2 persons were, and in the remainder one was. Wage-earning within Big Cove itself, we should point out, is limited largely to farm labor for a very small number of farmers. Of the 70 persons who earned money outside Big Cove during the summer, many worked for only a few days. Only 32 of them worked for two months or more. Holzinger estimates that during the winter, an average of about 20 persons at any one time are earning wages.

The type of work engaged in by the wage earners of Big Cove during the summer of 1958 included the following: For the tribal government, 10 (not counting the two Council members); for the federal agency, 10; for the Cherokee Historical Association (private tourist enterprise), 10; for the National Park, 8, only one of whom worked regularly; in souvenir shops and motels, 9; at "chiefing" (acting as greeter in Indian regalia at souvenir shops), 3; at the moccasin factory in Cherokee Village, 2; for private contractors, 4; at a summer camp on the reservation, 2; self-employed with regular cash income, 7; as farm hands, 10; at "odd jobs" (mostly in connection with construction and logging), 20.

Among the ways in which people earned money, but which could not be considered to be employment, were: logging, 11; novelty production, 2; basket-weaving (largely for the tourist trade), 34 women and girls; selling honey, 2; selling rattlesnakes, 1; splitting and selling cord wood, 1; beadwork (for tourists), 3; quilt-making, 2; wood-carving and making aprons,

2; collecting ginseng root, 19; making blowguns, 1; collecting building stone, 3; and there were others.

The techniques of basket-weaving—white oak and reeds predominate as materials, with both home-prepared and commercial dyes—are derived to some extent from aboriginal times although the shapes are obviously adapted to the tastes of tourists. As indicated by the number of people engaged in it, this is a relatively lucrative source of income which is not seasonally bound, and it is pre-empted by women. Few if any basket-makers sell their work directly to customers, but rather sell them to souvenir shops or through the Craft Cooperative in Cherokee Village.

Our material from Painttown on this subject, based on findings during the summer of 1957, was gathered in a more formalized and superficial manner than that used by Holzinger in Big Cove. It is, in the first place, based on a sample of the population: the men formally considered to be heads of households and their wives. Table 13 summarizes this material.

TABLE 13

Occupations of Painttown Husbands and Their Wives, Summer 1957.				
Occupations	Husbands		Wives	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Office work	3	3		
Private businesses	7	8	9	9.3
Occupations dependent on tourists (motels, Cherokee Historical Assoc., etc.)	17	19	17	16.6
Trades	13	15		
Public Services	10	11		
Wage Labor	13	15		
Farming only or primarily	20	23		
Miscellaneous	4	5		
Crafts making			17	16.5
Moccasin factory			3	3.1
Farm and domestic labor			9	9.3
Housewife only			31	32.0
Miscellaneous			5	5.2
Totals	87	100	97	100

Source: Gardner 1958, pp. 65 and 66.

These figures force individuals into single, exclusive categories. This is deceptive, for 25 per cent of the men and 6 per cent of the women earned money from more than one source



(11, p. 67). The tabulation is based on what appeared to be the most important source of income of each person. Undoubtedly, more part-time farming, and certainly more gardening (most of which yields in kind rather than cash), goes on in Painttown than would appear from the table. Home crafts are probably more prevalent, also.

Despite the wide margin of incomparability between these figures and those from Big Cove, they bear out other types of observation in this regard: there is a distinctly greater white collar and skilled trade element in the Painttown occupational picture. In addition to the men who own or manage private businesses (chiefly motels), there is one sanitarian employed by the government, 2 men with office jobs at the Agency, 10 carpenters, painters and the like. Of the 23 business establishments along Highway 19 in Painttown, 13 are operated by Painttown residents, "and at least that many" are owned by Painttown residents. Two Painttown families own and operate shops in Cherokee Village (11, p. 71). There is nothing comparable to this in Big Cove.

The range of occupations and sources of income which we have considered extends from steady office employment and regular self-employment to dependence on odd jobs, piece work, and welfare payments (which are a matter of public record and will not be dealt with here). One of the major problems of the Eastern Cherokees is that the range is skewed in the latter direction. The majority of the population is only gradually emerging from a situation in which subsistence farming was the basis of survival, in which future planning was limited to the anticipation of predictable seasonal variations, and in which the management of money was of no concern. What remains of the subsistence farming economy cannot, however, be simply relinquished, for dependence on its produce continues. It must, therefore, be dovetailed with the demands of the cash economy, and this involves a re-learning process which is not necessarily easy. For example, should the basketmaker enlarge her garden and can enough vegetables to last through the winter? If she does, she will not have time to make so many baskets, and her family is dependent upon every penny she makes by this means. Perhaps her husband could learn the canning technique as an adjunct of farming, but this would involve a redefinition of roles which would be stressful.

Among the Conservative Indians, especially, there is a ten-

dency in subsistence matters toward an orientation centering on the present and tangible. According to this orientation, which was not inappropriate in the previous dominant economy,

... the future does not influence the present and one does not concern oneself with a distant problem until it arrives. One man and his son sell locust stakes periodically . . . and use the money as downpayment on a car. Additional loads of stakes are not cut for future payments on the car, but are cut and sold to buy another when the first car is repossessed. Between the first part of June in 1956 and February of 1957, this family had no less than four automobiles. (14, p. 55)

To this man, the important issue is that he has a car, and it does not matter particularly if several different cars (all old used models) fill this need in fairly rapid succession. The facts that he is a poor credit risk and that the interest rates on his installments tend to be high are of no concern to him, since he actually buys little else on the installment plan and is not really conversant with the concepts of financial risk-taking as expressed in giving and using credit in return for interest payments.

To those whose means of survival are dependent entirely upon money and who, by the nature of their surroundings, are forced, if nothing else, accurately to plan ahead the future payments for immediately satisfied needs, the behavior of this man seems very inefficient. Let it be remembered, however, that the ability to plan one's survival by vigilantly keeping one's budget balanced does not come naturally. It is learned, and it can only be learned successfully when at least the rudiments of the structure on which it is based are understood and when there is constant reinforcement of it in a variety of financial operations. These conditions do not obtain, through no fault of their own, among the Conservative Eastern Cherokees. If greater facility in budgeting is a skill which they need, they can learn it only if they can perceive in it positive, tangible rewards in terms of their existing way of life.

In the meantime, it is not difficult to imagine what would be likely to happen to the man who defaulted on the payments on three cars in rapid succession if he were persuaded to move off-reservation and seek his fortune in a social environment far more dominated by financial arrangements than his own. He would hardly be able to resist multiple installment buying, and he would not be given the opportunity to learn how to manage it efficiently. Problems of this sort are among those



of the people whose way home the Tribal Council has had to pay, as mentioned in an earlier chapter.

As we shall try to show in a later chapter, this matter involves more than the transmission of a technical skill, for the transmission must accommodate differences in history, environment, and values which cannot simply be disregarded.

#### 4. EMIGRATION

Logically, emigration would appear clearly to be one of the best means of relieving economic pressures among the Eastern Cherokees, but we have just been reminded that more than logic is involved in the problems of successful adaptation by the emigrant.

Regardless of the matter of success, what is the frequency of out-migration? On this matter we have figures only from a selected sample of Painttown residents: the siblings and children of Painttown heads of households and their wives who themselves were born and raised in Painttown. In Chapter IV (Table 4) we noted that of this native Painttown population of 179 persons, 62 (34.6 per cent) were, in the summer of 1957, living and working off-reservation. Since nearly all of the reservation population is native to the reservation, is the native Painttown segment of it representative of the whole in regard to the frequency of emigrants? If it were, then it would mean that there are approximately 1,000 persons who were born and raised on the reservation who are living and working away from it. Whether or not this figure is close to reality, we have, however, no idea; but because of the nature of the Painttown sample of emigrants (predominantly people with less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  Indian inheritance), we would guess that the actual figure is less.

Of the 62 native Painttown emigrants, 19 were in the armed forces of the United States, and a number of informants believed that military service is one of the major attractions which induces people to leave the reservation for the first time (11, p. 41). Apparently, a number of the other Painttown emigrants had initially left the reservation when they were drafted into service in World War II—in which, incidentally, about 335 Eastern Cherokees served (50, p. 50).

The locations and occupations of native Painttown emigrants (11, pp. 142-55) show a few trends. There were two professional people—one minister and one nurse. Housewife and fac-

tory worker were the most frequent occupations, plus some sales-clerks and telephone operators. Areally, there appeared to be three concentrations of about equal weight: (1) Western North Carolina and Eastern Tennessee; (2) Virginia, especially Norfolk; and (3) Michigan-Indiana-Ohio. There were two persons in California, and a few more here and there elsewhere. This material is intended to give an idea of the ecological adaptation in regard to out-migration at a given period of time of an otherwise stable segment of the population. The material indicates nothing, however, of how stable the out-migration itself is.

In this latter connection, the 1957 survey of Painttown yields some approximate data on the duration and nature of previous off-reservation experience of persons who, at the time of the survey were living in Painttown, whether born and raised there or elsewhere on the reservation. In analyzing this material, 13 of the 104 households were eliminated either because no information was gathered or because the only person in a household who had had previous off-reservation experience had had it by virtue of the fact that he or she was not born and raised on the reservation.

Of the 91 relevant households, 67 included one or more persons who, at one time or another, had lived and worked off-reservation. In 50 of these households, there was at least one person who had lived and worked away from the reservation for at least a year at a time; but except for attendance at school, continuous off-reservation residence of more than two years had been very unusual. There were, however, ten households in which one or more members had held a succession of off-reservation jobs, interspersed with stays on the reservation, which extended over long periods—as much as 30 years in some cases. In addition, there were a number of cases in which there was such a succession of jobs but for shorter periods. Many of these were relatively young people, and they may, in 1957, have only begun the pattern of living and working successively on-and-off the reservation.

What did these people do off-reservation? Twelve had attended either the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania or the Haskell Indian School in Lawrence, Kansas. Five had attended some other school or college. Seven had worked on the construction of Fontana Dam during World War II. Four had worked in war plants, and eight had done some other type of factory work. Ten had done construction work, overseas in

two cases. Three women had served on the staffs of Indian schools in the West, three had been waitresses, and five had done housework. Other types of work, involving only two or three persons, were working for TVA, picking fruit in Florida in the winter, truck driving, kitchen work in restaurants, and farm and garden labor.

The nature of the material permits us to see a little further into motivations and feelings in this matter. A woman who did domestic service in a western state for about a year, returned to Painttown because she was homesick. Another woman was a waitress for three months off-reservation and returned because her children, whom she had left behind, had become ill. Still another woman did housework in a Middle Atlantic state for about a year, but, "I got tired of living up there." A man, of less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  degree of Indian inheritance, worked as a dishwasher in Chicago for about a year but was unable to find a steady job there. Two men, one  $\frac{3}{4}$  degree of Indian inheritance and the other  $\frac{1}{16}$ , had a succession of off-reservation jobs over a period of years, but finally each "just wanted to come home." A man worked as a mechanic in a western North Carolina town for six months but came home to take care of the children when his wife became ill. Because his children became homesick, a man ( $\frac{1}{16}$  Indian inheritance) moved his family back to Painttown after about one year as a factory worker. Ill-health of self or some member of the family was a fairly frequent reason given for returning, but not so frequent as the "return home" theme. Discrimination against him because he was an Indian was mentioned by only one informant as being a reason for unhappiness off-reservation. However, another man, with  $\frac{5}{8}$  Indian inheritance, who worked in a shipyard during the war and for about a year thereafter, said that he returned home because, "Indians like to be together." Over a period of two years, a full-blood Indian worked for one year in a construction job, for six months in a factory, and for six months in a cotton mill. His wife, less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  Indian, did not want to return to the reservation, but he did. Another man, ( $\frac{1}{16}$  Indian inheritance) worked in a factory for two weeks in the Northeast, later in the Middle West for two months, and spent a month in Florida harvesting fruit. Each of these experiences was terminated because he "didn't like it."

An over-all impression—and it is admittedly an impression subject to any necessary modification—of the emigration phe-

nomenon is that for most people it consists of forays into the outside society in response to special situations such as harvest time in Florida, war production, and special construction jobs for which extra hands are needed. We know of a few cases in which individuals have apparently made up their minds to move away and establish themselves permanently elsewhere, but these appear to be very exceptional.

While the difficulties in off-reservation adaptation are probably most severe for Conservative Indians, these difficulties are by no means limited to them. Expressions of strong emotional attachment to the mountain country are frequent and widespread.

Informants in 24 of the 91 households indicated that no one in the household had worked off-reservation in any other capacity than military service. Because of the wording of the question, these respondents may have omitted periods of employment of less than six months, however. Nine of these 24 households were dominated by adults with maximum degrees of Indian inheritance.

However sporadic, temporary, and apparently emotionally unsatisfactory out-migration may be, it is a behavioral pattern which is widely ramified, which to date has in one way or another directly affected the great majority of households and families. Although instances of it dating back to the time of World War I and the 1920's and 1930's were reported, the vast majority of off-reservation experiences have taken place since about 1940. This is only partly a function of the ages of the people involved. It is also a function of the reduction of the isolation of the reservation through rapid transportation.

## 5. PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

The considerable dependence for survival of many people on public assistance in the form of welfare payments of various kinds should be looked upon as an aspect of the ecological phase through which the population is passing—a necessarily slow transition from subsistence farming to a cash economy. While the difficulties of the transition may be somewhat aggravated among the Conservative Cherokees because of some of their values, the problem is by no means a peculiarly Indian one. It has been encountered by all the previously subsistence farming neighborhoods in the southern Appalachians, most of which are not Indian at all. In one such neighborhood, located not far



from the reservation over the mountains in Tennessee, the widespread receipt of welfare payments is not regarded as being degrading, even though these people do have a definite concept of shame associated with "charity." To them, receipt of welfare payments is not charity but receipt of one's due for having lived a hard life and having been generally virtuous (32, p. 57). Whether this attitude is prevalent among the Eastern Cherokees we do not know for sure, but this would seem to be probable. Furthermore, it is consistent with certain Conservative Indian values regarding the sharing of this world's goods. More will be said about these values later on, but the subject can appropriately be introduced at this point by a discussion of the Eastern Cherokees' Free Labor Companies.

#### 6. THE FREE LABOR COMPANIES

During the period of the Cross-Cultural Laboratory's field research, there were seven Free Labor Companies in the Qualia Boundary: three in Big Cove, two in Cherokee Village, one in Painttown, and one in Wolfetown. There may have been others to which our attention was not drawn, but there was definitely not one in Birdtown.

The origins of the Free Labor Company lie in the social organization of the aboriginal Cherokee town. While from time to time in the recent past, Eastern Cherokees with less than maximal Indian inheritance have participated in Free Labor, the institution is among the most notable overt characteristics of the Conservative Indians. Derived from the organization which, among other things, coordinated the agricultural activities of the aboriginal town, the functions of the Free Labor Company today are a combination of mutual aid among people, none of whom is affluent, and of assistance to individuals who need emergency help, especially in times of illness and death. While the companies do not provide continuous financial support as do the public assistance programs, they are a definitely functional element in the survival patterns of the Eastern Cherokees, especially the Conservative ones.

Aboriginal Cherokee towns, at least the larger ones, had a physical center or nucleus which included a council house (occasionally built on a mound) and a field for playing the stick-ball game. The extent to which houses were clustered about this nucleus, as opposed to being scattered, is not clear, but it is clear that the aboriginal town had a social and psychological



focus not to be found in the present Eastern Cherokee townships. The social organization of the aboriginal town expressed itself in two contrasting ways, one represented by the Red (or war) Organization, the other by the White (or civil) Organization. These organizations operated at different times from each other, neither continuously, and in response to different cues. The leadership of the two organizations tended to be vested in different persons during any one period, while many other persons participated in both organizations at different times, which called for periodic redefinitions of roles (12, *passim*). It is the White Organization which concerns us in connection with the present-day Free Labor Companies.

Observations made in the eighteenth century by various travelers, whose writings have been searched with particular care by Raymond D. Fogelson, present the following impression of Cherokee agriculture and related social organization. Each household had its own rather small garden plot whose produce was exclusively its own. In addition, all members of the town, having been given due warning, were periodically summoned by the leaders of the White Organization to work together in clearing, planting and harvesting crops. A part of these communally raised crops was divided among the members of the town. Another part was stored in a communal granary for use in time of emergency—either general emergencies or crises affecting particular individuals only. House-building was another activity which was organized in this manner. Certain points in the process were treated as particularly festive occasions which included feasts, dancing, etc. (9, pp. 13-18). The White organization was clearly involved here in organizing an important part of the routine subsistence activities of the town as well as emergency relief. While the White Organization was in operation, its officers were, in effect, the officers of the town.

The events of the late eighteenth century destroyed most of the aboriginal town organization, and the Red Organization concepts were subsequently rejected by the Cherokees themselves. However, some of the concepts and activities relating to the White Organization were either never disrupted or were reasserted among the Eastern Cherokees after the Removal.

It will be remembered that Yonahgunski had built a council house along Soco Creek. This was still standing and in use (though not for long) in 1848 (15, p. 248). Apparently in the same period, localized remnant White Organizations were being

developed in what are the present-day townships which were at that time being formed. Even one aspect of the Red Organization—the ballgame—was established or re-established. Up until about 1875 in many of the present townships, the chief of the remnant White Organization was apparently considered to be the chief of the township (37, p. 173). Fogelson feels that it was probably not coincidental that these township chiefs passed out of effective existence at about the same time that the present political organization of the Eastern Band, modeled on western parliamentary patterns, began to operate (9, p. 33). One can, in fact, see a parallel between the earlier experience of all the Cherokees and this later experience of the Eastern ones. The replacement of the aboriginal town organization and the evolution of the Cherokee Nation, between 1780 and 1820, seems to have been recapitulated on a smaller scale and in considerably modified form among the Eastern Cherokees between 1839 and 1875. Since the original post-Removal Eastern population was very Conservative, this partial recapitulation does not seem surprising.

Why the chiefs of the remnant White Organizations in the townships had ceased to be considered township chiefs by 1875 is not clear. One reason may have been that they became unable to muster the entire work force of the township. Be this as it may, we know that cooperative work parties, resembling both the description of the aboriginal organization and the activities of Free Labor Companies today, were observed among the Eastern Cherokees in the 1890's. The parties were composed of 10 to 12 persons, and they worked each person's fields in order (9, p. 33). By this time, apparently what had been township-wide organizations had become mutual aid societies with more limited membership. At the same time, however, it was apparently still possible to muster a larger party when someone was in need in any emergency.

About 1900 the mutual aid groups, instead of, or at least in addition to, working each other's fields, began hiring themselves out for labor off-reservation, one of the early adaptations to the cash economy. This commercial enterprise was soon judged to be taxable under North Carolina law, the activity was discontinued (9, pp. 34-5), and the full-scale mutual aid in agriculture was not resumed. Still later, the emergency aid aspect of this behavioral complex seemed to become less important in competition with the expansion of public assistance and other gov-

ernmental services (9, p. 37). In fact, the general tone of Speck and Schaeffer's observations (37) in the 1930's was that the whole complex was doomed to quick extinction. That this has not occurred is worthy of remark.

The present Free Labor Companies represent the current phase in the evolution of this form of social organization. Their functions illustrate at various times the characteristics of a cooperative work party, mutual aid society, and an emergency relief party, and it seems to this writer that it would be arbitrary to designate them as being only one of these. The persistence of this form of social organization shows no little resilience and adaptability to changing conditions, together with the continued forcefulness of values which encourage such non-individualistic activity.

Fogelson (9, pp. 19-20) notes the following characteristics and groups of today's Free Labor Companies which had definite parallels in the aboriginal White Organization:

1. Overseers or foremen who decide what is to be done, where and when.
2. Messengers who spread advance notice of jobs to be done.
3. Women as cooks for the work party.
4. A common fund or treasury.
5. Aid to the ill or otherwise incapacitated.
6. Working each other's fields in concert.

Distinctly different from the aboriginal situation is the fact that in no sense do the Free Labor Companies constitute the inclusive social organization of any township. There may be one, none, or several companies per township; and in no case are all the people of any township engaged in Free Labor activities, although this is expressed as an ideal by many informants. Too, the Free Labor Companies do not operate in conjunction with a war organization and a clan system as the White Organization did. Rather, they operate in a context which includes the Band government, the federal government, the community clubs, and the churches.

Let us examine each of these generalizations in somewhat more detail. Free Labor officers are elected once a year. One of the companies in Big Cove, for example, in 1958 elected a chief and a vice chief, a secretary, a treasurer, two messengers, a carpentry foreman, a grave-digging foreman, and four women cooks (9, p. 40). This slate of officers is fairly standard among the companies in general. The two most active companies in

Big Cove have, respectively, about 15 and 25 members, and this, too, seems to be typical.

The women cooks may or may not have an organization of their own. In Painttown, for example, the Women's Club has done, as one of its major activities, cooking for the Painttown Free Labor Company (11, p. 116). Specially organized or not, the preparation of food for the work party is an important part of the whole operation. In this connection, Fogelson (9, p. 41) has noted an ironical situation: when the company undertakes to work for someone, even someone who is in serious need, the recipient is expected to provide the food, sometimes having to borrow money to do so! Here we see, perhaps, the traditional festiveness of the activity as outweighing the modern cash economics of the situation. Some informants, however, state that in the days when participation was more inclusive, those who were unable to work donated food instead (9, p. 42). The activities of the companies typically include planting and harvesting corn, and chopping firewood. These may be done on a mutual aid basis or for the benefit of a person who is incapacitated. Gravedigging is another type of emergency service which may be performed, although the other mortuary functions have for some time been in the hands of professional undertakers. Repairs to houses and bridges and even the complete building of houses are also done when the need arises. It is very difficult to ascertain how much time is actually spent in Free Labor activities, but it is on record in the Painttown Community Scrapbook of 1953 that between October, 1952, and the fall of 1953, the Painttown Free Labor Company expended 1,800 man-hours of labor in work parties averaging 10 to 30 persons. This work included the building of a house for a newcomer to the township.

When the mutual aid groups entered the cash economy about 1900, their earnings were placed in a general fund which was divided annually among the members, a pattern which appears to parallel the eighteenth century division of goods in kind. The Free Labor Company treasuries today are filled largely from the proceeds of weekly "pie socials" or "box suppers." Members contribute boxes of fried chicken, fish, bean bread, cakes, and pies which are auctioned off to the highest bidder. Frankfurters and soft drinks are also sold for immediate consumption. All the profits are put in the treasury. A careful record is kept of the amounts paid in by an individual since this helps to de-



termine how much he may draw from the fund if he should wish to do so. The treasury is used either for distribution to members or for the purchase of tools and equipment (9, p. 42).

In Big Cove today there are three Free Labor Companies. Two are in the Upper Cove section where the Conservative Indians are concentrated. These represent a split, due to internal dissention, in what was, up until about 1953, a single company. The third is in the Stoney section, and recently it has had fewer participants than either of the other two (9, pp. 39-40). The existence of a company in the Upper Cove and another in the Stoney section is of very long standing. At one time each section had its own stickball team, and today each has its own softball team. Fogelson estimates that about one quarter of the adult population of the township is active in the three companies combined. All of them have remained distinctly separate from the Big Cove Community Club.

In Painttown in 1957, 32 per cent of the households had members who were active in, or had recently been active in, the Free Labor Company there. Almost three-quarters of the participating families were headed by adults with  $\frac{3}{4}$  or more Indian inheritance, and in 44 per cent of the participating households the Cherokee language was spoken some or all of the time (11, p. 120). These facts suggest the very strong, though not exclusive, interest in Free Labor on the part of the more Conservative Indians. The general pattern of participation seems to be that there is a rather small nucleus of regular participants, plus a larger number of people who help out occasionally.

Some people reported that they did not help because the messengers never called on them. A few said the Company does not call on anyone whom they know is very busy or who lives far away. (11, p. 119)

"Very busy" in this connection probably means busy in a non-farming occupation.

While the majority of people do not participate in the Free Labor Company, Mrs. Gardner encountered considerable expression of pride in the organization even by non-participants. This pride is a product of the awareness that the Company is a relic of the aboriginal culture, combined with the consciousness that its emergency relief functions are consistent with Christian ideals of unselfish service (11, p. 122).

Though there are those who wish it were otherwise, the



Free Labor Company is not the core social structure of the community, *i.e.*, the township. Before about 1875, when the aboriginal culture was closer, when the cash economy had not made inroads on subsistence farming, and when the townships were smaller and were more isolated from each other than they are now, the *gadugi*—the Cherokee word for the organization—did apparently approximate this function. Today, the Free Labor Company, despite its long history, is a specialized organization with a rather specialized clientele.

Though there has been some cooperation between some of the Free Labor Companies and the recently introduced Community Clubs, attempts to merge them have failed. Although general participation in the two groups is not mutually exclusive, there are rather wide differences in the general philosophy of those who are the most active and the most interested in each of the two groups.

In Cherokee Village one of the Free Labor Companies has become closely identified with one of the churches, and, in fact, the company built the church building (45, p. 20).

## 7. HEALTH AND DISEASE

Although health is a subject which has been long of major concern to those interested in the problems of the Indians, and although health services are among the most important functions of the federal government among the Indians, the Cross-Cultural Laboratory was not concerned with health research *per se*.

In connection with attitudes and values, it is pertinent to note that in general those responsible for health and welfare matters among the Eastern Cherokees seem to be particularly concerned with the response of the Conservative Indians to modern clinical procedures. For example, there are complaints about the Conservatives' unwillingness or inability—it is not clear which—to follow prescriptions and, most particularly, to take certain domestic hygienic measures which would help to prevent such health problems as parasitic infestation, for example. There are also complaints about a tendency to bring cases for treatment only after they have reached an acute stage and to cease treatment as soon as symptoms are relieved (36, p. 2).

Doubtless such complaints could be made in any community, but they seem to be particularly prevalent in all situations

in which modern medical practitioners, deeply involved in the patterns of urban industrial culture, seek to adapt to their practices people who have been brought up in a culture based on subsistence farming. For example, Pearsall (32, pp. 155-60) describes a medical situation in a non-Indian mountain neighborhood on the western border of the great Smoky Mountain National Park which seems to resemble the Conservative Cherokee situation very closely, except in that hospital facilities are much more accessible to the Indians. Nevertheless, the "Indian-ness" of the Conservative segment of the population in particular is often adduced as a reason for the failure to follow clinically acceptable practices in prevention and cure.

Conservative Cherokees, in their turn, have certain specific complaints about modern medical and hospital practices. For example, they feel that no cold liquids should be given to a woman during or after delivery, but rather that she should be given hot liquids. The hospital preference for ice water is therefore repellant and unsatisfactory. Disposal of the placenta in the hospital incinerator is distasteful to Conservative women who are accustomed to its being buried, along with the umbilical cord, in the ground (36, p. 4).

Apart from not being fully convinced that the germ theory of disease is valid and the awareness that modern physicians cannot cure all cases, are there any elements in Cherokee culture, specifically, which orient people away from medical practices?

In aboriginal Cherokee culture, certain beliefs concerning the cause of disease contrasted quite strongly in detail and in cosmological orientation with the tradition from which modern medicine developed. According to one mythical theme, mankind long ago so mistreated the animals that in revenge they brought disease to mankind. The plants, on the other hand, promised to help mankind in defense (10, p. 3). An elaboration of this belief was that certain human beings in league with certain animal spirits could cause others to become ill; in other words, there was a sorcery element in the belief system. The basic orientation was that disease is a product of spiritual disharmony and malevolence, in which mankind is intimately involved with other aspects of nature. Curing techniques included herbal remedies and purifications, the latter including "going to water" (being ritually washed in a flowing stream). To someone thoroughly imbued with this belief system, the concept of disease

being caused mechanically by micro-organisms and the concept of being subject to impersonal attack by Nature might well seem to be, if not unbelievable, at least rather irrelevant.

Although research is now underway which is designed to elucidate this matter, it is at the moment impossible to estimate the extent to which this aboriginal cosmology still enters into the Conservatives' attitudes toward disease, although we shall later discuss the proposition that, as far as social relationships are concerned, the principle of maintaining harmony is a central one.

That there is, nevertheless, a definite faith among some (how many we do not know) that there are other means besides, or in addition to, modern clinical medicine for handling disease is attested to by the existence of a number of Indian doctors or conjurers. The practices of these men, influenced though they have been by the folk medicine of white frontiersmen, have their roots, however much attenuated, in the practices of the aboriginal priesthood. Having said this, we must immediately state that the present-day Indian doctors do not regard themselves as being priests and certainly not as a priesthood, for they practice singly and in secret.

The secretiveness of the Indian doctors is perhaps one reason why discussion of them among the people in general seems to be difficult and to cause uneasiness. Combined with this is the apparently common belief that the Indian doctors do, or can, practice black magic and witchcraft. Understandably, no one, including those Indian doctors who have been asked, admit belief in or use of black magic, for it is both contrary to Christian practices and scorned by the general culture at large. More will be said on this subject in Chapter VII where the non-medical activities of the Indian doctors are discussed.

Many Eastern Cherokees, but particularly the Conservative ones, are familiar with a considerable number of wild plants which supposedly have medicinal value. These are prepared and used without any ritual performances. A part of the Indian doctor's practice consists of the same thing except that he has learned a great many more medicinal plants—as many as 200, according to Fogelson (10, p. 3).

In addition, the Indian doctor has learned a large number of verbal formulas which are used on some occasions. These have been preserved in written form in the Sequoyah syllabary and seem to be unchanged from at least the time of the Re-

moval, although the interpretation of many of them has changed. For example, Fogelson notes the case of a formula which, in the nineteenth century, was believed to be efficacious against certain disease-bearing spirits. The same formula is now a specific for high blood pressure. And the diseases treated spiritually in some formulas are now considered, rationalistically if somewhat vaguely, simply to be common colds (10, p. 8). Among the problems treated by Indian doctors, gastrointestinal difficulties seem to be very frequent (10, p. 6), and another observer has the impression that such complaints—many of them difficult to diagnose and treat—are common. Is there, possibly, a psychosomatic element in these complaints?

A certain number of non-Indian tourists apparently seek out Indian doctors for help, bringing to them cases considered incurable by modern medicine, spastic and sterile persons and persons with various apparently congenital defects (10, pp. 6-7).

There is no formal training for becoming an Indian doctor, but the process calls for a personal relationship with an established one, for learning a large number of medicinal plants, for knowing or learning the Sequoyah syllabary, and above all, for faith in what one is doing. Fogelson (10, p. 7) cites an Indian doctor as saying that faith in God and prayer are essential for success in effecting his cures.

It would appear that the government's medical services have lessened the demand for Indian doctors' services, but that many Conservatives continue to use both.

In general, the impact of Western medicine on Cherokee theory and practice can be seen to involve partial assimilation, the accentuation of differences where the two theories are incompatible, and an over-all feeling that the two systems are complementary rather than fundamentally contradictory. (10, p. 10)

## 8. DEATH

While death is the negation of the individual's earthly survival, his funeral is a ritual in which participate those who do, for the moment, survive. And while it may be held that the funeral service is for the benefit of the deceased's soul, it is also true in many, if not most cultures, that the funeral is of positive value to those who survive.

Of the several rituals connected with the crises of life, such as birth, marriage, and death, the funeral appears to be the



most important among the Eastern Cherokees. In this respect, they appear to be similar to people in non-Indian communities which have long existed in the same region. In fact, the form of the funeral among the most Conservative Cherokees as well as the others is apparently that which was introduced with the form of Christianity which was brought into the region by the white frontiersmen.

Though distinctly religious in tone, the funeral is not typically a church ceremony. Rather, the body is laid out in the house in which the person lived or in that of a close relative, and an all-night "set-up" ensues. The set-up is an all-night vigil at which close friends and relatives contribute food for those who attend. The latter may be very numerous, some remaining for only a brief period, others for a very long time. As at other larger gatherings of people, there is continuous activity outside the house, weather permitting, as well as inside. The majority of them sit, often silently, but at other times in quiet conversation, very much as they do at other social gatherings. The ritual aspects of the set-up include preaching by one or more ministers or lay preachers and singing of hymns by quartets of which there are several on the reservation, each associated with a particular church. Apart from the content of the preaching, the expression of emotion is subdued.

As mentioned before, the grave may be dug by the members of a Free Labor Company, and the body may be carried to the grave by the same group, but professional undertakers also participate in the handling of the body; and at one funeral, for example, the actual lowering of it into the grave was done by the undertaker (R. P. Kutsche, field notes).

The cemeteries are most inconspicuous, usually located on hillsides out of sight of main roads. Most of the graves are very simply marked or not marked at all. Many of the cemeteries are associated with particular families, as is common in the rural areas of North Carolina generally, and only one adjoins a church building.

## CHAPTER VII. COMMUNICATION

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The subject of communication can be defined rather narrowly as encompassing the techniques of consciously transmitting messages. This chapter includes material on this subject, but



it goes beyond it. Communication can also be conceived as a very broad topic indeed, including not only "verbal, explicit, and intentional transmission of messages" but all the processes by which, and the contexts in which "people influence one another" (35, pp. 5-6). The coverage of this chapter falls considerably short of this second conception which really seems to embrace all human interaction. We have already considered certain types of interaction among the Eastern Cherokees, especially those which exhibit relatively constant and broadly based patterns of organization.

In this chapter, however, we bring together discussions of techniques of message transmission and, somewhat more broadly, various contexts in which the *manner* of communication and interaction concerns us more than do the formal patterns, if any, by which they are socially organized.

## 2. ENCULTURATION

Communication, for each individual, begins at birth, and for some years thereafter much of the communication which he receives has the effect of adapting him to the culture into which he was born. Enculturation, the process by which the individual is adapted, with various degrees of success, to his culture (which same process, by extension, is among those by which the culture itself is perpetuated by transmission to new persons), is a subject of central importance in the study of human behavior.

The research of the Cross-Cultural Laboratory included a study of enculturation, but, however, only among the Conservative members of the Eastern Band. This subject was the special interest of Charles H. Holzinger who, in due course, will present his material in full detail. Here we shall take note of only a limited number of findings which appear to bear on other subjects which have been, or will be, discussed.

Holzinger, on the basis of the study of Conservative parents and children in Big Cove, characterizes early enculturation among these people as a process in which the infant first experiences a high degree of security and nurture but, after weaning, tends to be exposed to indifference and caprice on the part of his parents and siblings (20, p. 9). The majority of Conservative mothers breast-feed their infants, and many small children between the ages of one and two, and even over two, are suckled by their mothers whenever they seem fretful. For

the older of these children, who have other sources of nourishment, the breast, as Holzinger puts it, "is the great pacifier" not only nutritionally but in other respects. In about half of the cases studied by Holzinger, nursing bottles were also used. This can be accounted for partly by the fact that small children are often in the care of other persons than their mothers--particularly grandmothers, fathers, and siblings.

The frequency with which the small children of Conservatives are nursed on demand by their mothers and carried about and played with by fathers and siblings gave participants in the Cross-Cultural Laboratory the initial impression that the Conservative child is enveloped in great psychological and emotional warmth. Holzinger has subsequently revised this impression. He now seems to feel that even during the nursing period, many mothers' attitudes are not particularly nurturant, and that after weaning the child is treated with a casualness which is tantamount to indifference (20, pp. 7-8). This attitude, rather than strong feelings of nurturance, would account for the fact that small children are so often in the care of other persons than their mothers. And this care, according to Holzinger, is such that many children after weaning actually experience real hunger due to prevaillingly erratic and capricious feeding.

In this setting, deprivation of food as a specific punishment apparently does not occur, and it would presumably be rather meaningless. Switching is the most widespread punishment used, and fighting and all-around "meanness" appear to be the offenses most frequently punished. Sphincter control tends to be taught casually.

Many children among the Conservatives spend a considerable amount of time in other households than their parents', and some of them explicitly state a preference for such arrangements (20, p. 8).

Holzinger's discussion leaves us with the impression that what is communicated to the child after the earliest period of oral gratification is a deep-seated sense of the essential casualness and indifference of others, and the erratic, and therefore unplannable, nature of the satisfaction of basic needs. The child also learns to repress aggressiveness. The question of how this type of enculturation may be, at one and the same time, a reflection and a perpetuator of a number of Conservative cultural patterns will be discussed in a later chapter.

In areas of behavior of this sort, the interpretation of observations poses particularly difficult problems, and in the case of the Conservative Eastern Cherokees some of these problems are aggravated. Among these people, overt expressions of all feelings and emotions are minimized. If one tries to deduce feelings and emotions from the actions that one can observe, one possible deduction is, therefore, that parental and filial affection is minimal. And yet we have statements from a number of informants to the effect that Conservative women really love their children and that fathers often feel closer to their children than, in fact, they do to their wives.

Observed child-raising practices among the Conservative Eastern Cherokees would, if they occurred, for example, in the families of urban professional people, strongly suggest affectional deprivation. But the Conservative Eastern Cherokees are not urban professional people; in many areas of life, their expectations differ markedly, and this may also be true of their expectations in regard to an adequate degree of "togetherness." We are raising here the question whether sheer emotional deprivation is a key factor in Conservative enculturation. We cannot answer the question conclusively. We are not, however, questioning the proposition that the observable aspects of the enculturation process are consistent with other patterns of Conservative culture, of which more will be said later.

### 3. FORMAL EDUCATION

To some degree, formal education is a continuation of the enculturative process. Formal education imparts, at the very least, a number of special skills which themselves are part of the culture. The extent to which formal education should also include processes of character formation is now, and has been for some time, a matter of controversy in American culture generally. This controversy can be argued at one level when the context is one in which the pupils have much in common, culturally, with their teachers who are predominantly of middle class background. In this case, both teachers and pupils participate in a values system which includes emphasis on cleanliness, promptness, perseverance in the completion of tasks, and positive response to individualized rewards for competitive success. In this context, the teaching of specialized skills almost automatically reinforces the general values system, and the controversy about character formation tends to revolve around the

question of what more, over and beyond basic skills, should be imparted in school.

But suppose the cultural background of the teachers is not the same as that of their pupils, or at least a large proportion of them. This is the situation which teachers and many parents and children among the Eastern Cherokees face. The educational system, the curriculum, and the personalities of the educational personnel are all part of the values system some aspects of which were noted above. The children of Conservative parents, however, come to school with a values system in formation which is either contrary to, or does not include, those items mentioned above. The teacher has no choice but to present his material in conformity with educational policies and in a manner compatible with his own values system. In these respects he is automatically, and to some extent unconsciously, engaged in the attempt to reshape the values system of his pupils as well as to impart skills to them. In addition, the curriculum includes explicit instructions on hygienic and nutritional practices, some of which, incidentally, are, regardless of values, impracticable in poor households which lack refrigeration and running water. Despite the fact that the federal Indian education system has, for a quarter of a century, abandoned its former policy of attempting, forcibly if necessary, to eradicate the expression of Indian cultural patterns, it still remains difficult for many of the educational personnel to conceal their personal distaste for certain practices and attitudes which are incompatible with their own.

Among the adult Conservative Eastern Cherokees it is obvious that this regime has not resulted in a change in values. It has, however, communicated to them the strong impression that certain Conservative patterns of behavior are undesirable from the point of view of middle class non-Indian Americans. For the Conservative child, therefore, the formal education phase of his enculturation involves him in a situation in which he learns certain technical skills but in which he also learns that there are those who believe that many of the practices and attitudes in his home and in his own personality should be changed. Those of the Eastern Cherokees who are the most successful in school are not the Conservatives but those whose family patterns and attitudes are already consistent with those of the educational system.

Elsewhere (16, pp. 29-30), we have suggested that the frus-



trations of both the teachers and the Conservative children in this situation might be alleviated if each were helped to perceive more clearly and *consciously* the values system of the other. As it is, each tends to feel that the attitudes and practices of the other are rather incomprehensible failures to conform to his own; and the Conservative child also acquires the feeling that while the other remains alien to him, his own is somehow defective. A greater systematic and objective awareness would, it is hoped, enable the teacher to understand *why* for example, a Conservative child may be excruciatingly embarrassed by being singled out for praise (let alone punishment) and hence not motivated by this means to even greater achievement. With such understandings, more effective means of communication might be worked out.

In terms of the number of years completed in school, the Eastern Cherokees are very well educated. For example, a large sample of the Painttown adult population has had a median of 9.36 completed school years, as compared to the 9.3 years of the United States as a whole and the 7.9 years of a sample of rural North Carolinians (11, p. 59). As in the two larger populations, the number of completed school years is somewhat higher among females than among males. Table 14 indicates the distribution of this sample by number of completed school years and by degree of Indian inheritance.

TABLE 14

Educational Attainment of a Sample of Painttown Adults, by Degree of Indian Inheritance, 1957.

Educational Level	Degrees of Inheritance					
	3/4 - 4/4		9/32 - 23/32		0/0 - 1/4	
	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
High School graduate or beyond	17	21	7	33	12	18
9th - 12th Grades	28	34	8	38	19	28
4th - 8th Grades	28	34	5	28	29	42
0 - 3rd Grades	9	11	1	5	9	11
Totals	82	100	21	100	69	100

Source: Gardner 1958, p. 61 (Table 7).



This table suggests that people with maximal degrees of Indian inheritance—among whom the Conservatives are concentrated—compare favorably with the others in educational attainments, and this suggestion would seem to belie the points which were made earlier in this section. Actually, however, we do not believe that the two presentations are inconsistent with each other. Persons with maximal Indian inheritance are by no means deprived of the opportunity to have as much schooling as the reservation system offers. The point is, however, that the mere number of completed grades is not necessarily an indication of the success of the type of communication in values and attitudes discussed earlier. The point is, further, that the faulty communication which we have discussed prevents the Conservative from capitalizing on the type of education offered him. By “capitalize” we mean, for example, his being able to make a better ecological adjustment than that of residual-subsistence-farming-cum-intermittent-wage-labor.

Conservatives do not compare favorably with the other Eastern Cherokees when successful training beyond high school is considered. Table 14 is, unfortunately, ambiguous on this point since it combines high school graduates with those who went beyond high school. Actually, only 13 persons in the sample had had training after high school graduation, and only three of these were in the 3/4-4/4 range of Indian inheritance (11, p. 60). By and large, those Eastern Cherokees who, for example, receive scholarships for study beyond high school and who succeed in their studies, are not from the Conservative segment of the population.

#### 4. LANGUAGE

Language is the primary and basic vehicle of message transmission, but it is more than this. For example, special pronunciations and vocabularies can be used as, or interpreted as being, symbols of statuses of various kinds. Furthermore, it has been seriously suggested that a person's language—which he begins to learn as an infant and whose forms he generally takes for granted—provides him with a particular way of looking at the world and of classifying his experiences, which may differ considerably from those provided by other languages.

All of these considerations entered from time to time into the thinking of the personnel of the Cross-Cultural Laboratory, but since none of them was a trained linguist, most observations

had to be limited to the contexts, rather than the linguistic structure, of the uses of language.

The linguistic phenomenon of principal interest among the Eastern Cherokees is that the Cherokee language is still used by a considerable number of them. Since so much of the aboriginal culture has disappeared, it is remarkable that this very complex aspect of it has remained, especially in view of the fact that all of the Eastern Cherokees can and, under many circumstances must, speak English. Who continues, when possible, to speak Cherokee and why? In both Big Cove and Paint-town the Cross-Cultural Laboratory endeavored to answer the first of these questions by ascertaining within what households Cherokee was used as the everyday, domestic language.

TABLE 15

Use of the Cherokee Language in Big Cove, 1956.

Type of Use	Households		Population	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
I. Cherokee spoken at home regularly and by preference by all members.	31	41.33	187	39.12
II. Cherokee spoken at home because of preference among the older people, but many of the younger people appear to prefer to speak English among themselves.	7	9.33	63	13.43
III. Cherokee not regularly used at home, in some cases rarely if ever. However, at least one member, usually an adult, can speak it. Children's competence is mediocre or minimal.	28	37.33	184	39.04
IV. Cherokee never spoken at home. No member can converse in it, though some know a few words or phrases.	9	12.00	38	8.50
	75	100.00	472	100.00

Source: Gulick 1958, "Language and Passive Resistance Among the Eastern Cherokees," pp. 68-69.

Types I and II were found to be composed of persons who in general exhibited behavioral patterns which, in the previous two chapters especially, have been labeled as Conservative.

Language use in Painttown was gathered in a manner which differed somewhat from that used in Big Cove; the data are, however, in important respects comparable to those from Big Cove.

TABLE 16

Use of the Cherokee Language in Painttown Households, 1957.  
Number of Households=100

Type of Use	Per Cent Households	Per Cent
		Households Headed by Man and Wife with 3/4-4/4 Indian Inheritance
I. Spoken regularly at home	16	87.5
II. Spoken sometimes at home	9	100.0
III. Never spoken at home	75	32.0

Source: Gardner 1958, pp. 49-50.

The figures in Table 16 would seem to confirm the impression that preferential use of the Cherokee language is concentrated among people with 3/4 to 4/4 degrees of Indian inheritance. This is further confirmed by the fact that 80 per cent of the Painttown sample who can speak Cherokee fluently have 3/4 to 4/4 degrees of Indian inheritance (11, p. 56).

The number of people in Painttown who can speak the language is greater than what might be suggested by this table. Only 44 per cent of the 182 men and women on which the table is based cannot speak Cherokee at all or know only a few words; 16 per cent can speak it a little; 28 per cent can speak it fluently; and 12 per cent can speak it fluently and read the Sequoyah syllabary (11, p. 53). In all probability, more precise observation than was possible would have revealed that the actual number of households in Painttown in which Cherokee is literally never used for communication is less than is indicated in Table 16, although the contrasts between Big Cove and Painttown in the matter are undoubtedly significant.

There were two primary reasons for inquiring into the use of the Cherokee language in terms of households. One was that intra-household and intra-familial affairs are one of the important contexts of life in which the use of English is not necessarily required, and that therefore the frequency of regular use of Cherokee by household may be taken as an index of the

actual preference for the language. The other reason was that by ascertaining the number of households in which Cherokee is used regularly, some idea could be gained of the extent to which Eastern Cherokee children are being intensively exposed to and presumably learning the Indian language. In the latter connection, we can conclude that only in Type I households in Big Cove and Painttown is the Cherokee language being consistently transmitted to the children. Among the Type II households in Painttown (which are probably the most comparable to the Type III households in Big Cove), the reasons given for using the Cherokee language "sometimes" included those times when there is a visitor who cannot or will not speak English; in moments of anger; when it is desired to exclude a non-Cherokee speaker from the conversation—one Big Cove informant indicated that she and her husband sometimes use Cherokee when they do not want their children to understand them; and when attempts are made to teach Cherokee to the children (11, p. 50). Despite the last of the reasons given, and possibly except for it, we cannot conclude that the Type II households in Painttown are those in which the Indian language is being perpetuated.

While it would appear that the frequency of competence in the Cherokee language in the population is gradually decreasing, we do not feel warranted in concluding that it is doomed to quick extinction as long as the mechanisms by which it has so far apparently been maintained remain in operation.

What are these mechanisms? Competence in Cherokee is concentrated among those people who have  $\frac{3}{4}$  to full Indian inheritance. This means that it is concentrated among people in whose family histories there has been little or no inclusion of non-Indians in the intimate processes of enculturation in each generation. This, in turn, means that in such families there has been the least opportunity for a break in the learning of the aboriginal language in each successive generation. Thus, as long as there is an appreciable number of married couples, both members of which are competent in Cherokee and use it at home, the basic mechanism for preserving the language will remain intact.

However, the fact that a person learned the language as a child does not mean that he will automatically pass it along to his children. Even if both he and his wife can speak it, they may choose to use English at home, and there are cases of this type.



But there are also cases, as we have seen, in which the language is being transmitted. Why does this continue to be true when all children must learn English? One reason may be that for some Conservative parents, communication in Cherokee is actually easier than it is in English, and so they continue to speak it under all circumstances in which they need not speak English. Unfortunately, we cannot assess to what extent this is a primary factor in the situation. We do, however, have indications that aside from reasons of convenience, there is among Conservatives a definite sense of the symbolic significance of speaking the Cherokee language. Its use is symbolic of "being an Indian." Many informants have expressed this feeling in their regrets that certain people, for example, are not teaching Cherokee to their children; and one informant stated the symbolic significance of the language quite succinctly. In response to the question of who in his household spoke Cherokee, he said, "Just me and the old lady. All the rest turned white folks." (11, p. 52)

Later we shall review what we have stated elsewhere (17, p. 71 *et pass.*), that the symbolic aspect of the use of the Cherokee language is related to motives of resistance to non-Indian influences. Meanwhile, in the work cited, the hypothesis was proposed that the Cherokee language has been preserved through a combination of the circumstances of its learning and the symbolic functions associated with it. We minimized, partly because of sheer ignorance, the possibility that for and among Conservatives the Cherokee language may continue to be a more efficient means of communication than English, in the sense that its grammar and vocabulary are more compatible with Conservative values and attitudes.

Participation in the research of the Laboratory by a person who speaks Cherokee provided some insights into this question, although it was hardly resolved. Two examples must suffice. In English, the expressions "community" and "executive officer" (a generic term for "chairman," "principal," "superintendent," etc.) have definite connotations which are understood by those who use them. A community is an organized settlement whose inhabitants, while pursuing their own interests, are also expected to be conscious of the interests of "the whole" which is a continuous entity. An executive officer is a person who has the authority to make decisions in specified spheres of life which will be accepted by others whether they like them or not. Though



he may consult others, his decisions are his own. On the other hand, he is not a dictator. The sphere of his decisions is circumscribed and he is subject to various controls.

The Cherokee language lacks words which convey the above connotations; and judging from their behavior, the Conservatives' values system does not take cognizance of them. The nearest equivalents of "community" are expressions which mean "group of houses," "cooperative work party," and the like, none of which encompasses the holistic, continuous-entity connotation of the English word. The nearest equivalents of "executive officer" are the expressions originally designating the chief of the Red Organization and the chief of the White Organization. The first of these was a coercive role generally suspect in the culture, a necessary evil as it were. The second literally means "beloved old man," and the role was more that of a coordinator of group consensus than it was that of decision-maker (Robert K. Thomas, field notes and personal communications).

If Conservative attitudes toward the organization of settlements and the nature of leadership still approximate the aboriginal ones, it would follow that the Cherokee language lends itself better than does English to communication on these topics. It would also follow that continued use of the language might tend to perpetuate the attitudes even though the external institutions have changed. All this would certainly suggest difficulties of communication between persons who speak Cherokee by preference and those who can only speak English, since the Cherokee-speaker would tend to perceive the English words "community" and "executive officer" in terms of the connotations of their nearest equivalents in Cherokee.

All of this is, unfortunately, rather speculative. The subject is introduced, however, because it may have a bearing not only on language use itself but also on the nature of the relationships between those who speak Cherokee by preference and those who do not. It could also be a subject of further research by adequately trained persons, which would be of immense interest.

If those who speak Cherokee by preference were perfectly bilingual—that is, if they could speak and think in English as well as they can in Cherokee—our insistence on this subject might well be exaggerated. However, Robert Thomas, who speaks both languages, believes that many Conservatives, though they can speak English, really do not command all its subtleties and probably do not think in it.

There appear to be no persons on the reservation who cannot speak English at all, although there are a few, mostly very elderly Conservatives, whose command of it is so poor (either through inability or disinclination) that they do not use it as a means of communication.

The proceedings of the Tribal Council are carried on in both languages, although the minutes of its meetings are recorded in English.

## 5. MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

The written word among the Eastern Cherokees is neither new nor unfamiliar.

The Sequoyah syllabary, a phonetic system of writing the Cherokee language which was invented about 15 years before the Removal, is one of the renowned cultural possessions of the Cherokees. Its use, however, is limited. The largest printed body of it is the Bible, and there is still a small demand for new copies among the Eastern Cherokees. Active use of it is, as far as we know, limited to the copying of Indian doctors' formulas and to the recording of the minutes of the meetings of at least some of the Free Labor Companies. The limitation of its use to the most Conservative contexts is significant.

Written material in English is massive in quantity, although the intensity of exposure to it undoubtedly varies among the population. But at the very least, the process of keeping formal, written records of meetings and the preparation of reports and tabulations—of which the Tribal Roll is perhaps the most important for everyone—are concepts and procedures which are familiar to all.

It is difficult to assess the impact of the mass media of communication on the population, but the quantity of it is not negligible. In Painttown, 34 per cent of the households subscribe to a daily newspaper (chiefly either the papers from Knoxville or Asheville), and many of these also subscribe to weekly newspapers and magazines. Another 30 per cent subscribe to weekly newspapers and/or magazines only. Of the remaining 36 per cent, many purchase newspapers daily. While a wide variety of magazines is read in Painttown, farm, religious, and wildlife ones are the most popular (11, p. 73). There are several news-stands in Cherokee Village which, in addition to carrying newspapers, offer as wide a variety of magazines as are ordinarily sold in cities.

Seventy-nine per cent of the Painttown households have at least one radio, and 36 per cent have television (11, p. 73). Although Painttown householders were asked to name their favorite television and radio programs, this material has not been analyzed. Since the range of choice is limited, especially as far as television is concerned, it seems questionable to us whether the stated preferences have any particular significance. The frequency of television and radio sets in Big Cove is far less. In Big Cove in 1956, only 4 per cent of the households had television.

## 6. DIRECT INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION

Visiting, which primarily means "stopping by" or "dropping in," is especially frequent in winter, and it seems to occur primarily among kinsmen. In Painttown, among 46 per cent of the households, three-quarters of the people visited are relatives, and among 78 per cent of the households, at least half of those visited are relatives. However, only about half of the visiting is done exclusively within Painttown itself. Some is done off-reservation, and this is mostly with relatives (11, p. 129). The relatives most often visited by adults are parents, siblings, and grown children, if any, living outside the household. Visits with aunts and uncles and persons in the grandparental generation are not rare, but are less frequent. Visits with first cousins, and even some second cousins, are not unusual, but are probably, on the whole, less frequent than visits with non-relatives. Daily contacts, especially with the closest relatives, are not unusual. It should be noted that these remarks are impressions based on inspection of the survey of Painttown which was made in 1957. The actual data include visitors to the household, visits by the household, whether the visitors or persons visited are relatives, and if so, what kind of relative, and the frequency of visits to and from each person.

Visiting patterns in Big Cove were not investigated so thoroughly as in Painttown, but a sample of 49 directly observed visits to particular households during the summer of 1956 was recorded. Of these, 18 were visits by non-relatives. Of the 31 visitors who were relatives, 13 were siblings of some member of the household, 5 were nieces or nephews, 5 were cousins, 3 were parents, 2 were grandchildren, and one was a son. The visitors were all adults or adolescents; and in at least 15 cases, the primary purpose of the visit appeared to be sharing or providing

some sort of work (7, p. 142-5). This sample has a dearth of parent-child visits which was not, however, replicated by general observations in Big Cove (7, p. 85). Consequently, the findings from Painttown and from Big Cove appear to be similar in pattern.

The telephone is not a particularly important means of communication. In 1957, only 10 per cent of the Painttown households had telephones. At the same time, there was only one telephone in Big Cove, and it was in the school building.

Walking is a very important means of locomotion, and most people take for granted the necessity of long walks (for example, the twelve miles from upper Big Cove to Cherokee Village), and frequent visiting by no means occurs only between people who live closest to each other. In Big Cove, and doubtless elsewhere, the network of trails over the ridges makes frequent communication between households which seem quite far apart in terms of mechanized transportation.

However, the automobile and the truck have begun to take an important place in the communication patterns of the reservation. In Painttown, in 1957, 54 per cent of the households owned one or more automobiles and/or trucks. Thirty-seven households had one automobile; five had two, five had one automobile and one truck; one had three automobiles; one had two automobiles and one truck; and seven had one truck (11, p. 72). It is of interest that in Big Cove, where the possession of expensive equipment is generally so much less than that in Painttown, 47 per cent of the households had automobiles in the summer of 1956.

We have already commented on the difficulties which some persons have in financially maintaining these products of industrialism. However, certain behavior associated with automotive transportation indicates an incorporation of commercialized attitudes. When one gives a Cherokee a ride, he will usually ask at the end of the trip, "How much do I owe you?" And, indeed, payment is expected for lifts even among people who are from the same township. One man in Big Cove is well known, among other things, for not accepting payment when he gives people rides. Formal taxi service is offered by a number of men; but the fares, given the distances, are often prohibitive for many people. A regular bus service is felt by a number of persons to be an important need on the reservation.



## 7. SOCIAL GATHERINGS AND RECREATION

From the more or less impromptu, though frequent and important, type of interaction and communication involved in visiting, we move to some more formalized types which attract larger assemblages of people. Specifically, we shall consider the "box suppers" or "pie socials," the softball games, and the annual Cherokee Fair. We shall also make a digression into the subject of the Indian stickball game and behavior associated with it.

The idea of the box supper was apparently introduced among the Eastern Cherokees by one of the churches as a means of raising money during World War I. We have already discussed the fact that the Free Labor Companies utilize the box supper as a means of filling their treasuries. In Big Cove, box suppers are also conducted for the purpose of raising money for the equipment of the softball teams and for buying presents and favors for children at Christmas time. Those participating in the latter form of fund-raising constitute what is becoming known as Christmas Clubs. Inasmuch as, in Big Cove at least, there is considerable overlap among the actual individuals who are involved in these three types of box suppers, there is some question as to whether they should be considered three distinct groups. At any rate, the suppers are held in a limited number of households; a certain number of people can be counted upon as regular attenders, while the attendance of others is sporadic. The importance of these affairs as social gatherings is indicated by the fact that in Big Cove they occur at least once a week, even in the summer. As indicated before, the behavior of the 10 or 15 people usually gathered is rarely if ever loud or hilarious. Aside from the bidding, there may be little conversation, and what there is, is quiet.

There are six softball teams in the Qualla boundary, one from each township, except from Big Cove which has two. The players are usually from the township by which their team is labeled, but there are occasional exceptions to this. These teams constitute a league in which a few neighboring non-Indian off-reservation teams, such as the one from Whittier, have also participated to some extent from time to time.

Up until the 1930's, each township had an Indian stickball team, a pattern which had survived directly from aboriginal times when each town had a team. The aboriginal teams were



part of the Red Organization, and the games were unquestionably a form of ritualized warfare between towns, a medium for both players and spectators for releasing violently hostile feelings. As regular township organizations, the stickball teams were abolished at the instance of the Agency for apparently two reasons: first, injuries to the players due to its roughness which had apparently become disproportionate in terms of a game rather than a battle; second, the frequently unruly behavior among the spectators which led to drunken brawls, knifings, and so on. (The second reason has also been mentioned by various informants as having been operative in the cessation of the few remaining aboriginal dances.)

Inasmuch as the township distribution of the softball teams exactly recapitulates that of the stickball teams, the question arises to what extent the softball games are psychological substitutes for the stickball games. If they were, we would expect to find a number of behavioral patterns associated with them: (1) "conjuring" by Indian doctors for the success of the team; (2) evidence of more or less intense emotionality on the part of spectators and players; and (3) a sense of township identity and inter-township rivalry. As a matter of fact, we would expect among non-Indian softball players and spectators a display of the second, and verbalizations, at least, of the third.

As far as the conjuring is concerned, we have heard occasional rumors that it is done, especially for teams composed largely of Conservatives; but none of these rumors have been confirmed. As for the games, which are played on the school athletic field in the Agency compound at Cherokee Village, they are remarkable for their quietness. The players "talk it up" only sporadically. Exchanges between spectators and players do occur, but they seem, actually, mostly to be between individuals who know each other personally. Cheers, shouts, and cat-calls are very rarely heard, and they by no means amount to the continuous accompaniment which is characteristic of softball and baseball games among non-Indians. Attention to the game itself is often interrupted by side conversations, playing with children, nursing babies, and so on. In short, the social behavior among the spectators is very much like that at other social gatherings. Yet the fact that the gathering itself must be enjoyed is attested to by the fact that the spectators often number 150 to 200 persons. It is difficult to discern in all this any ap-

preciable feeling of township identity and intertownship rivalry as projected onto the teams and the play.

Our own opinion is that township identities and rivalries, which were undoubtedly strong at an earlier period on the reservation, have been largely dissipated by the mobility of the population and the decreasing isolation of the settlements. However, it should be reported that one participant in the Laboratory believes that very definite feelings of group identity and rivalry are involved in the softball games between the Upper Cove and the Stoney section of Big Cove. As to the matter of means of release of aggressive feelings, this must be discussed in a wider context in a later chapter.

The annual Cherokee Indian Fair, dating from 1914, is an event which is looked forward to with pleasure by the entire population. It occurs each year for about five days at the end of September or early in October, shortly after the chief pressures of the tourist season have abated. Probably the majority of the people attend, and many of them return repeatedly.

From the observer's point of view, the Fair seems to have two parts. One of these consists of the various mechanical rides and games of luck which are provided by a traveling carnival company. Especially at night, this part of the Fair sells various thrills to the people and also gives them the opportunity to see friends and acquaintances with whom they have been too busy during the summer to have had contact. The bright lights, noisy barkers, and glittering prizes attract many people night after night.

The other part of the Fair is the one in which the interests of the Fair Association, whose president is the Chief of the Band and whose advisory president is the Superintendent of the reservation, are primarily involved. These interests are, in sum, the encouragement of all the achievements which the Eastern Cherokees are making in successfully adapting their former subsistence farming economy to the cash economy of commercial farming and various tourist services. "Progress" and "Development" are, perhaps, the key themes which run throughout the handsomely printed and illustrated program booklet (about 100 pages long) which is published for each Fair. Herein, the year's efforts of such organizations as the Community Clubs, Home Demonstration Clubs, Four-H Clubs, the Farmers' Co-operative, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Cherokee Historical Association, are brought together and set forth in the form

of advertisements, brief essays, and captioned photographs, along with the details of the many prize competitions which actually constitute the major portion of this part of the Fair itself. Attention is also drawn to certain aspects of aboriginal Cherokee culture, largely in the context of historical background.

The prize competitions, which are housed in various Agency buildings adjoining the athletic field where the carnival portion of the Fair is set up, include the various classes of home products which are typical of county fairs: cut flowers, needlework, pastries, canned vegetables and fruits, preserves, poultry, livestock, and field products. The many prizes offered in these categories go largely to individuals. Then there is the Community Development Contest in which the exhibits of the Community Clubs are judged. Representing considerable effort, often expended mostly during the spring and summer, each of the exhibits receives a monetary prize, but the first and second prizes (\$1000 and \$750) are appreciably greater than the others. The prize money is contributed by the Cherokee Historical Association. The exhibits include a display representing the township, for one example, a relief map showing various developments, and a report in the form of a scrapbook in which are set forth the activities and achievements of the preceding year.

When the judging of these exhibits (which are a matter of great pride to those who have contributed the most to them) has been completed, the attention of most visitors to the Fair seems to be drawn to the carnival section and to athletic and other performances. The latter include square dancing contests, singing quartet contests, blowgun contests, and exhibitions of the Indian stickball game.

Indian ball is the game—aboriginally widespread in what is now the Eastern United States—from which lacrosse was derived. Each of the twelve players on each team carries in each hand a stick, one end of which is a small hoop which was originally laced with rawhide, now with wire. After an initial toss-up, the object of the game is to carry the small ball across the other team's goal. The sticks are used to pick the ball up from the ground and as weapons against opposing players. The ball may be carried in the hand or in the mouth, and any means of stopping the ballcarrier or getting the ball away from him is allowed. It is difficult to play such a game in earnest without the occurrence of even accidental injuries, and, by the same

token, the game is well suited for the deliberate infliction of injuries.

In recent years, the exhibition games have been played in such a manner as to minimize the likelihood of injuries of either sort. The teams have been recruited from various parts of the reservation and are paid for their performances.

However, the meaningfulness of the game in terms of aboriginal cultural patterns would not seem to have been entirely lost. In the first place, there are indications that participation in the games is concentrated among Conservatives. In Paint-town, members of 32 per cent of the households in 1957 had played Indian ball, either in "the old days" or in current exhibition games. In almost half of these households the Cherokee language was spoken either sometimes or all the time, and in 91 per cent of them the senior male had  $\frac{3}{4}$  or more Indian inheritance (11, p. 123). There is evidence, also, that at least some of the present-day teams undergo a token of the elaborate pre-game rituals which occupied many days in aboriginal, and even later, times. In 1958, a team recruited from Big Cove was "led to water" by one of the Indian doctors, the players having been scratched with an instrument made of turkey quills. It is not known whether they also observed the various abstinences which were once obligatory, but at least the ritual at the stream was observed directly. It took place, furthermore, in a secluded spot, so that there was no question of its being done purely for the benefit of tourists and outsiders. The observer had the impression that the youthful players knew what to do without coaching from the elderly doctor, but this is only an impression (Raymond Fogelson, personal communication, 1959).

During the summer of 1959, the Chamber of Commerce sponsored weekly exhibitions of the game, a complete series of township teams having been organized. The unwonted frequency of the game led to its being played in earnest, with the result that a number of serious injuries were inflicted; and on some occasions, the spectators became belligerent (Harriet Kupferer, personal communication). This behavior, which was particularly noticeable among Conservatives, is strongly reminiscent of descriptions of the conduct of the stickball game before the 1930's.

It is in the ballgame rituals that the role of the Indian doctor as conjuror, rather than as healer, becomes evident. In this role, the conjuror ritually strengthens his own team, and by various



processes of divination, such as bead-rolling, attempts to predict the victory of his team. Also in his repertory are formulas which are believed to be efficacious in dulling the opposing players' eyesight and otherwise lessening their efficiency (10, p. 13). The use of such formulas is, of course, a form of sorcery, and there are others—formulas for attracting a loved one, for making an unfaithful loved one unattractive to others, for bringing back a spouse who has deserted, for breaking marriages, and for preventing their breakup by jealous third parties, for example—which are also in the conjuror's repertory (10, p. 13). That these and other formulas whose use can be considered to be sorcery were believed in in the past, there is no question. That they remain today in the Indian doctor's repertory, memorized from manuscripts written in the Sequoyah syllabary, there is also no question. But the extent to which laymen believe in them and employ conjurors to use them is entirely another question. This is the aspect of the Indian doctor's role about which it is most difficult to obtain any information which one can accept with confidence, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Is this difficulty primarily due to ignorance or to deliberate reticence concerning the matter? We do not pretend to know. Fogelson (10, p. 12) thinks that the belief that sorcery can be practiced is held by a number of people and that this belief accounts for a good deal of suspicion and hostility, even though the actual practice of it is probably very slight. Whatever the psychological realities of the situation may be, sorcery was an aspect of the aboriginal Cherokee culture which was directly contrary to Christian principles; and since all the Eastern Cherokees are very conscious of their Christian identity, this alone might account for their reticence on the subject.

## 8. RELIGIOUS SERVICES

Religious services are a context of communication which is very important among the Eastern Cherokees. On any one Sunday a large proportion of the population is involved. As among other populations, church services provide opportunities for social interaction as well as worship.

With a few exceptions, the preaching in Eastern Cherokee churches stresses the sinfulness and evilness of mankind and the absolute necessity of belief in Christ and being thereby saved, in order to escape hell-fire. As often as not, the manner of preaching is highly emotional. It is of considerable interest that



though the Indians' attendance and attention is good, their response is very unlike that of non-Indians to the same sort of preaching. The contrast becomes most evident when one compares the behavior of Indian and non-Indian congregations at revival meetings, several of which occur each summer. In short, the wild releases of intense emotion among the non-Indians do not occur among the Indians who typically remain impassive. This behavior is consistent with Indian social behavior generally, and since the Indians are well aware that violent emotional expression is entirely acceptable and is indeed expected among non-Indians belonging to the same denominations as they, we can only conclude that the values system which underlies the Indians' quiet and impassive social behavior is very powerful indeed.

Many Eastern Cherokee churches, including those attended by the most Conservative, have quartets which sing at services, funerals, baptisms, and also on other occasions. Though the texts are sometimes in the Cherokee language, the tunes and the manner of harmonizing are derived from non-Indian origins. There is considerable interest in these quartets, which each year, usually in August, reaches a climax in a hymn-singing festival at one of the churches, following a large picnic. Quartets from all over the reservation, and some from off-reservation, participate.

## 9. ASSOCIATIONS OF INTENTION

There are, among the Eastern Cherokees, several organized associations, the purposes of whose existence are explicitly intentional. At their meetings, the members of these groups reinforce for each other their intentions, one of which is to communicate their purposes to others. Most of these associations were established after World War II, during the period of the sudden expansion of the tourist business. Their intended purposes fall into three categories: (1) elimination of those with minimal degrees of Indian inheritance from membership in the Band; (2) multipurpose community development, stressing modernized agricultural techniques and improved public facilities; and (3) development of commercial enterprises, chiefly in relation to the tourist business.

If a large number of the same people were interested in furthering all three purposes, the intentions of these associations would together constitute a consolidation of social organi-

zation. This is, however, not the case. There is almost no overlap between those who espouse the first and third purposes. In fact, were the first purpose to be realized, many persons who espouse the second and third purposes would be eliminated from membership in the Band.

With the approval in 1958 of a new Tribal Roll, the achievement of the first purpose was frustrated, but this does not mean that those who have espoused it have necessarily accommodated their points of view about life to those espousing the others.

Those supporting the first purpose have primarily been Indian Conservatives, although some of their spokesmen have not been. How many Conservatives have really been active in the organization, generally known as the Qualla Group, is not clear, however.

While there is no inconsistency between the second and third purposes, the organizations supporting them are varied in size and specific functions. For example, memberships in the Chamber of Commerce and the Kiwanis Club are relatively small and specialized, being strongly representative of those in commercial enterprises, and including very few people with maximal degrees of Indian inheritance. The Farmer's Cooperative has a large membership, but the nature of the organization—a marketing mechanism—means that the members do not interact intensively.

Of all the associations of intention, the Community Clubs would seem to have the most varied, most broadly-based, and at the same time, most intensively interactive memberships. Taken together, the memberships in these clubs represent the full range of degrees of Indian inheritance, and all parts of the reservation are involved. However, by and large, the most consistently active members of most of the clubs, the people who, for instance, can be counted upon to take responsibility for their club's Fair exhibit, tend to be people who are well adapted to the values of commercialized farming and other business procedures. These people can see a relationship between the concept of progress of the community at large and the concept of their own individual prosperity. Appreciation of such a relationship would seem to be crucial in motivating people to be active in Community Club projects. It is, however, a relationship whose reality is not at all clear to the large number of people on the reservation whose values system is still oriented primarily in terms of the subsistence farming economy. This disparity in values,

which, in turn, impedes effective communication, is one of the reasons why the really valiant attempts in some townships to merge the Free Labor Companies and the Community Clubs have failed.

## CHAPTER VIII. PATTERNS

### 1. INTRODUCTION

We have, so far, described the primary social contexts in which the Eastern Cherokees live. In the course of this description, we have occasionally discussed the historical background of certain phenomena and suggested that some of them appear to be more characteristic of some Eastern Cherokees than of others. To some degree, these discussions have partially served the purpose of accounting for the existence of certain behavioral patterns, but this task is not yet as complete as we can make it. Before attempting a completion of it, it is necessary that we draw together, in a somewhat more abstract fashion, some of the material with which we have previously dealt.

### 2. DIFFERENTIATION OF AGGREGATES AND INTEGRATION OF GROUPS

All Eastern Cherokees participate in two types of social context: membership in the Band and township residence. Probably very nearly all Eastern Cherokees also participate in two other contexts: church affiliation and the household. For our purposes, it will be sufficient to consider these four contexts together as being universal aggregates. Participation in these four aggregates imparts to all Eastern Cherokees a body of common experiences, understandings, problems, and satisfactions. The commonality of these experiences and understandings is to a large extent accepted as being automatically "in the nature of things," and it provides a certain amount of order and predictability in social relationships. None of these universal aggregates are, however, organized groups in the sense that all of their participants take action together by reason of their universal participation.

One reason for this is that each of the aggregates is divided into sub-aggregates. Membership in the Band is defined by a range of degrees of Indian inheritance of which there are 32 possible types. In actual practice, these 32 are usually reduced

to four or five which are sub-ranges in the total. None of these types constitute in themselves organized groups, although some participants in some of the types do engage in certain organized activities, as we shall see. The total Band is not, in itself, an organized group except symbolically through the actions of its elected officers.

Township residence is divided into six units. At no time, with the possible exception of election time, does the total population of each unit take organized action, and certainly none is an organized group. Each township can be subdivided into a number of sections; and in some of these, but not all, specialized, conscious goals or attitudes seem to distinguish the participants.

The aggregate of church affiliation is subdivided into at least 17 units. Each unit includes at least a core of group organization, a body of people whose attendance is constant and who make themselves responsible for the maintenance of church activities. Each unit also includes, however, a large number of relatively passive participants, some of whom frequently change their affiliation. The extent to which these latter people constitute an organized group is arguable. The congregations of some churches appear to be rather homogeneous with respect to certain non-religious social characteristics. This is not, however, true of all the churches.

The household aggregate is subdivided into a larger number of units than any of the others. During 1956-57, there were 179 households in Big Cove and Painttown combined, and there are probably about 700 on the whole reservation. Each of these units is an organized group, but this organization revolves around the performance of certain universal and absolutely necessary life-sustaining functions to a greater extent than it does around voluntary, social interests. Household units do differ in size, composition, and stability, but our attempts to relate these differences to other social differences met with indifferent success. The household as a universal aggregate and households as organized groups therefore constitute a factor which can be held constant in our further analyses. This does not imply that we consider the household to be unimportant among the Eastern Cherokees. Quite the contrary. The household is the only type of organized group—as opposed to aggregate—in which nearly all Eastern Cherokees participate; but for this very reason, among others, it is not a particularly useful index of social differentiation.



Among some of the sub-aggregates of Band membership, of township residence, and of church affiliation, but not among all of them, we can discern certain regularities. These consist, in the first place, of the coincidence of more than one type of sub-aggregate. Secondly, where such coincidence occurs, there is likely to be unmistakable evidence of organized, integrated group activity. Let us review some examples of this.

1. The majority of the inhabitants of the Upper Cove section of Big Cove are in the  $3/4$  to  $4/4$  range of Indian inheritance, most of them have lived all their lives in Big Cove, most of them attend the church which is located in the section, most of them prefer to speak the Cherokee language, and many of them participate in Free Labor Companies.

2. The majority of those attending Rock Springs Church in Painttown have lived in Painttown all their lives and live adjacent to the church. Their degree of organization is indicated by the fact that they recently completed a new church edifice. While most of them have at least  $1/2$  Indian inheritance, they are variable in this matter as they are in preference for the Cherokee language. Some of them are active participants in the Painttown Free Labor Company, some of them are active in the Painttown Community Club, and some of them are active in neither.

3. In the northern section of Cherokee Village, there is a residential concentration of persons with  $3/4$ - $4/4$  degrees of Indian inheritance who attend the church which was built by their own Free Labor Company.

4. In the Rich Farm and Lambert Farm sections of Painttown, the majority of the people have less than  $1/2$  degree of Indian inheritance, most of them are active neither in the Community Club nor in the Free Labor Company, but they attend either of two nearby churches which are off-reservation.

5. Drawn largely from residents of Cherokee Village and the highway sections of other townships are the members of the Chamber of Commerce who characteristically have less than  $1/2$  degree of Indian inheritance, do not speak the Cherokee language, and do not participate in Free Labor Companies.

Other cases of the coincidences of sub-aggregates and the emergence of integrated groups could be mentioned, but it is our belief that a full enumeration of them would not encompass the entire Eastern Cherokee population. Even in the descriptions of the above cases, we have had to use relative expressions ("the



majority," "some," "few," etc.) rather than absolute ones, in indicating the intensity of the coincidence. It should also be noted that no two of these sets of coincident social factors are identical in their components. The situation is one in which there are several clusters of people who share certain characteristics and for this reason are able to mobilize themselves for some degree of integrated group action, but the whole population does not fall neatly into one or another of these groups, and the groups do not replicate each other in structure. This is the essence of the loose social organization to which we referred in an earlier chapter. One consequence of it is that although one can discover individuals who are influential, for example, in certain churches or certain clubs, *generalized leaders* are rare. There is no one, for instance, who has the power, authority, or inclination to mobilize an entire township on any issue. Furthermore, it is our impression that, although a limited number of the same individuals tend to be the most active over a given period of years in the small, integrated groups, there are few, if any, single individuals in such groups of whom it could truly be said, "Whatever he says, goes, in this outfit." Perhaps the nearest approximation to the acting out of strong leadership roles is to be found in the activities of some candidates for tribal offices, but even here it is doubtful that the extent of their influence is very wide. While the lack of strong leaders has been attributed by some to the fact that the Federal Government has for a long time exercised a number of important executive responsibilities, we prefer to look upon it as being compatible with both of the two cultural traditions which have, up until very recently, dominated Eastern Cherokee culture—aboriginal Cherokee culture and the culture of the white frontiersmen and mountain farmers.

### 3. A TEMPTING DICHOTOMY

Although the clusters of social factors which we have reviewed do not replicate each other exactly, some factors recur in some clusters but not in others. In fact, *if we ignore certain details*, we can rather easily place the clusters in two categories. In one of these, degree of Indian inheritance of at least  $\frac{1}{2}$ , more often at least  $\frac{3}{4}$ , is one recurrent factor, and with it are associated Free Labor Companies and preference for the Cherokee language. With the other, with less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  degree of Indian inheritance is associated no apparent interest in the Free La-

bor Companies or the Cherokee language, but a definite interest in commercial developments. If we take the further step of assuming that the associated factors are in each case dependent upon degree of Indian inheritance, then these two syntheses become mutually exclusive, and we discover a socio-cultural dichotomy.

Before proceeding further, let us emphasize that the reasoning by which we arrived at this conclusion is false. In this chapter and in preceding chapters, we have repeatedly shown that certain factors only *tend* to be associated with particular degrees of Indian inheritance, while others do not even seem to tend toward such association. In this chapter, especially, we have tried to show that the most clear-cut types of behavior—active participation in small, integrated groups—are characteristic of only a relatively small number of the people. These are the details which were ignored in our misguided arrival at a socio-cultural dichotomy. This dichotomous conception is misleading in two respects; it is an unwarranted synthesis of sub-aggregates, and it implies that each of the two parts is not only a synthesis of sub-aggregates but also an organized group.

Having suffered through these abstractions, the reader may very well ask whether the dichotomy exists anywhere but in the head of the author. The answer is that it exists in the heads of the Eastern Cherokees and to such a degree that it is a theme to which informants revert over and over again. This is an aspect of Eastern Cherokee culture which we have so far deliberately avoided. Whereas it is apt to be one of the first things about which a newcomer among the Eastern Cherokees will be told, it is among the last with which we shall deal. We have presented, as best we can, a large number of objective facts about Eastern Cherokee culture, and in the first sections of this chapter we have outlined the extent to which we believe they can be related; and from this we concluded that they constitute a rather loose type of social organization. In this third section, we have explored a further step in analysis which has led to a conception of what might be considered a tighter social organization. That this conception exists in the minds of Eastern Cherokees is an objective fact. That there are real and important differences in values and attitudes among the population is also an objective fact. But that these differences are such that on the basis of them the entire population can be neatly divided into two camps is not an objective fact. In proposing a

solution to the problem which has been raised here, we shall use additional material which was gathered by the Cross-Cultural Laboratory and set forth certain hypotheses which have been proposed by its personnel.

Before launching into these matters, we must be more explicit about the Eastern Cherokees' dichotomous conception of their own society and culture. The two parts of the dichotomy are labeled "Full-Bloods" and "White Indians," and these labels are very frequently used in a context of negative affect. From the very beginning of our research, we encountered difficulties in attempting to define these terms. "Full-Blood" implies 100 per cent Indian inheritance, and yet we discovered many instances of "Full-Bloods" who had less than  $4/4$  Indian inheritance and even some rare instances of "Full-Bloods" who were not particularly Indian in physical appearance. While there was a general concentration of "Full-Bloods" in the  $3/4$ - $4/4$  range, there were enough exceptions to indicate that other criteria besides sheer inheritance enter into the definition. The same problem arose in regard to "White Indians" who, besides being individuals with minimal degrees of Indian inheritance and few if any Indian physical features, also appeared to include persons who "think and act like white men," regardless of their appearance. There appeared to be no middle ground, and there definitely is no middle ground as far as the labels are concerned.

Rather early in our research, however, we began to be aware that even though they apparently lacked a clear-cut conception of their own status, there were at least some who did not really identify themselves with either. This awareness came about in two ways. First, we began to encounter individuals who would refer to "*those* Full-Bloods" and "*those* White Indians" in tones which indicated either no identification with either one, or possibly, a rejection of both. Secondly, in August, 1956, C. H. Holzinger, R. P. Kutsche, and J. L. Grant conducted an experiment involving the male householders of Big Cove. They asked several Big Cove men to rate each person on the list (including themselves) as to whether he thought and acted "like an Indian" or "like a white man." The result was that, while opinions were unanimous concerning a certain number of people on each count (to a large degree confirming other observations of these people), opinions were not unanimous on many others. The remarks of the judges, as they made their decisions, made it clear that in their eyes many individuals acted "like Indians" under some

circumstances but "like white men" under others. The judges differed among themselves as to what particular "Indian" or "white" action was decisive in placing each individual in one category or the other.

While some Eastern Cherokees certainly retain more "Indian" traits than others, and while some others of them clearly model their behavior and attitudes on those of the non-Indian population, "Full-Blood" is a misleading term for the former. We therefore adopted the term "Conservative"—conservative in the retention of Indian traits—as a label for those who are locally called "Full-Bloods." It had, furthermore, become obvious that all those Eastern Cherokees who were not Conservatives could not be lumped together into one behavioral category, local dichotomous stereotypes to the contrary notwithstanding.

How could the non-Conservatives be classified? For some time, the Director of the Laboratory was hopeful that formulation of a precise socio-cultural continuum, of the sort which Spindler (39, pp. 107-19) developed for the Menomini of Wisconsin could be achieved. This hope was not, unfortunately, realized. Most of the participants in the Laboratory were interested primarily in the Conservatives, and it seemed unwise to distract them from their primary interest. Partly for this reason, it was impossible to obtain a sufficient number of Rorschach protocols from culturally divergent members of the Band, such protocols being a body of data which played an important part in Spindler's analysis. Eventually, however, Robert K. Thomas proposed a classification of sub-cultural types (or "values systems") among the Eastern Cherokees. This classification relies rather heavily on the perception of attitudes, values, and general states of mind, a type of perception which is admittedly intuitive and open to argument. Its validity stands or falls on the degree to which it can be fitted to the more palpable behavioral patterns with which we have so far been primarily concerned. No claim is made that it fits perfectly but only that it fits far better than the "Full-Blood/White Indian" dichotomy.

#### 4. A CONTINUUM OF VALUES SYSTEMS

Thomas (46, pp. 19 *ff.*) has proposed that among the Eastern Cherokees today, four values systems are in operation: Conservative, Generalized Indian, "Rural-White" Indian, and Middle Class Indian. Objections have been raised to some of these labels, but since no modifications have so far been made in what



they represent, we shall continue to use them for the sake of convenience. Even as labels, they seem to us to be more appropriate to the specific Eastern Cherokee situation than are the comparable terms "native," "transitional," and "acculturated" which have been applied to American Indians generally (40, pp. 154-7).

The Conservative "conceives of himself as a different order of man from the rest of the world. He is a separate-for-all-time, distinct man, created so by God." (46, p. 22.) His distinction is, of course, that he is a "true Indian." Insofar as aboriginal personality traits and values remain, it is the Conservative who retains them most consistently. We shall discuss this more fully in the next section. Insofar as aboriginal traits remain, such as those represented by preference for the Cherokee language and the organization of the Free Labor Companies, it is the Conservative who retains them the most consistently. We have previously made many references to the incidence of this second type of trait, but we have still to relate them to the first. At this point, it is perhaps most important to grasp the Conservative self-conception of separateness from the culture of the non-Indians.

The Generalized Indian very definitely conceives of himself as being an Indian, but he also conceives of himself as being a part of the larger culture (46, p. 22). This is perhaps the decisive difference between the Generalized Indian and the Conservative; and its most clear-cut indication may well be the fact that though the Generalized Indian may know the Cherokee language, he does not use it by preference. Otherwise, the Generalized Indians exhibit a rather wide range of behavioral patterns. Some of them continue to participate in Free Labor Companies. Some of them consult Conservative Indian doctors, "although they don't like to admit it." (46, p. 23) But Generalized Indians also take active part in Community Club activities, for example, and they tend to show an active interest in adapting themselves to the commercial economy surrounding them. To outsiders, the interpersonal behavior of the Generalized Indian seems far more open and approachable than does that of the Conservative. Thomas thinks that by contrast to the Conservatives, the Generalized Indians are far more consciously concerned about their relationships with whites. They wish to be identified as Indians, but at the same time they are anxious



that their patterns of behavior be seen as compatible with those of the whites.

It appears that in the Conservative view, those who become Generalized Indians have become "White Indians." In this connection, the case will be recalled of the Cherokee-speaking man in Painttown who said that the non-Cherokee-speaking members of his household had "turned white folks." Another case in point is a remark made to Robert Thomas: "I guess my father thought that I had turned into a white man when I came back from the army. I wanted electricity and running water in the house." (44, p. 12) Yet it is in regard to the Generalized Indians, among the non-Conservatives, that the label "White Indian" least applies. It was the discovery of the existence of people whom Thomas calls Generalized Indians that was a primary factor in our realization that the "Full-Blood"/"White Indian" dichotomy is misleading.

"The 'Rural-White' Indians on the reservation are very much like Southern rural whites in all respects as far as I can see." (46, p. 23) These people usually have a minimal degree of Indian inheritance, within the 1/32 limit, and most of them have few, if any, Indian physical features. In these respects, they contrast with the majority of the Generalized Indians. Another contrast is that they participate little, if at all, in such activities as Free Labor. They are, however, active in the Community Clubs, Home Demonstration Clubs, Four-H Clubs, and so on. These activities bring them into various relationships with Generalized Indians, but not with Conservatives.

The Middle Class values system reveals itself primarily in participation in non-agricultural business enterprise and office work, hence the label. Those who have made this adjustment appear, however, to have come from two origins: Generalized Indian and "Rural-White" Indian (46, p. 23). These people have a tendency to associate socially with non-Indians who are comparable to them in occupational orientation. Many of them constitute the majority of the congregation of the Episcopal Church in Cherokee Village. Those of "Rural-White" background probably identify themselves socially primarily in terms of the specialized groups to which they belong. Those of Generalized Indian background, though they are, as it were, two steps removed from the Conservatives, also in some cases identify themselves strongly as Indians.

How many people "belong" in each of these categories? We

do not know exactly, and estimates should be made with great caution. Some of the values involved in differentiating these types are causally related to the intimacy of the individual's exposure either to Indian traditions or to non-Indian traditions. By "intimacy" we mean, primarily, the effects of the parent-child relationship. In the case of the Conservatives, as we discussed earlier, this relationship has, through the generations, involved a minimum number of parents who were not Indian in tradition and in genetic inheritance. The situation among the "Rural-White" Indians is approximately the reverse. Both reason and observation suggest that persons of  $\frac{3}{4}$  to  $\frac{4}{4}$  Indian inheritance are very likely to be Conservative and that persons of  $\frac{1}{4}$  or less Indian inheritance are likely to be "Rural-White" in values orientation. On this basis, one can make an estimate of the maximum number of people who may live according to these two systems of values. However, it is probable that Generalized Indians range from  $\frac{4}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{4}$  and that Middle Class people range from at least  $\frac{3}{4}$  to less than  $\frac{1}{4}$ . Degree of Indian inheritance is, in other words, of some enumerative value in regard to two of the values systems, but of very little value in regard to the other two. There would seem to be little doubt that Middle Class is a very small minority of the total population and that the Conservatives are also a minority of the total population, but a large one, perhaps between  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{3}$ .

third.

The difficulty in enumerating the number of people who live according to each of these four systems of values is actually inescapable, inasmuch as the situation is a dynamic one in which many individuals change, through the years, from one values orientation to another. Robert Thomas feels that the Generalized Indians are steadily increasing in number at the expense of the Conservatives on the one hand and the "Rural-Whites" on the other. It is obvious that many Generalized Indians are persons who were raised in Conservative surroundings, and Thomas believes that many persons who were raised in "Rural-White" surroundings are either leaving the reservation entirely or are marrying Generalized Indians and raising their children to be Generalized Indians (45, p. 42).

What are the reasons which induce a person who was raised as a Conservative to become a Generalized Indian? We do not have a direct answer to this question. The exploration of it would be of great value; and while it is something that outside

researchers could do, we suggest that it is something that Eastern Cherokees themselves could do with great benefit. In it, and in the answers to the related question of *precisely* what attitudes the Generalized Indians can most happily and satisfactorily build into their values system, may lie some understandings which could be crucially important for the future of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. We shall return to these conjectures in the final section of this monograph when we shall "revisit the crossroads."

In the meantime, we can approach the matter indirectly by addressing ourselves to the question: what are the factors which induce a person who was raised as a Conservative *to remain a Conservative*? Or, to put it another way, how and why is the Conservative values system, or sub-culture, perpetuated? In addition to being a necessary first step in answering the question why Conservatives become Generalized Indians, this subject is of major importance in itself. Most of the remainder of this monograph will, in fact, be devoted to it.

## 5. THE CONSERVATIVE VALUES SYSTEM AND CULTURE

The Conservative culture has already been characterized in terms of some of its features. This characterization has been of a piece-meal sort, conveying the impression, perhaps, that this culture consists of an assortment of a few remnant traits from aboriginal culture and an assortment of a few traits most clearly associable with the white frontiersmen. Up to a point, this impression is correct; and it seems, furthermore, to be the most widely held impression of those who are in contact with the Conservatives.

However, there are implied in this impression two assumptions, both of which we believe are false. One is that the assortment of Conservative traits is purely accidental, and the other is that it is a mere assortment, that there is no structure or consistency to it. These two assumptions actually merge, we believe, in the minds of many observers, to form the assumption that Conservative traits are a miscellaneous hodge-podge of archaic items of behavior, some rather picturesque, others undesirable. Those who entertain these assumptions seem genuinely mystified and troubled by the fact that many of the traits—particularly those which they judge to be undesirable—continue in existence despite many efforts to change them. And well they

might be mystified; if these traits are a miscellaneous hodge-podge, why should they not be "picked off" one by one?

We believe that we can solve the mystery. We shall try to show that Conservative traits are not a hodge-podge, but that they are underlaid by a system, a structure, of values and attitudes which render them consistent with each other. If one accepts and grasps this idea, it then becomes possible to understand not only those traits which we have so far mentioned but also a number of others which have yet to be considered.

Before describing these values and attitudes, we shall do well to forestall confusion by anticipating a problem of great complexity and subtlety which arises in the analysis of Conservative culture. Some Conservative attitudes, values, and overt traits are derived from aboriginal Cherokee culture, but not all of Conservative culture is by any means derived from this source. Other Conservative traits may be regarded as having been borrowed from the culture of the whites, house types and settlement patterns being among the more obvious cases in point. Still other traits we regard as neither having been derived from aboriginal culture (although aboriginal culture may have helped to determine the form which they took) nor from the culture of the whites. These traits are adaptations to the conditions of contact with whites which the Conservatives have so long experienced. They are, as it were, new creations. These three types of traits have become structurally interrelated with each other, a matter which we will discuss in Part III of this work. And here we come to an irony in the situation as it is faced day in and day out by the Eastern Cherokees and their associates. While they tend to regard Conservative traits as a miscellaneous assortment, they (including the Conservatives themselves) label them all as being "Indian." In fact, however, only those derived from aboriginal Cherokee culture are truly Indian. "Indianness" is a status which is cherished by many Eastern Cherokees besides the Conservatives. However, in associating it with a number of traits which are actually not Indian, they have, as we shall see, placed themselves in a very difficult position.

In describing the aboriginally derived values systems of the Conservatives, we shall use, as points of departure, the various common psychological characteristics of American Indians generally which George and Louise Spindler have distilled from the literature and from their own experiences in the field (40, p.



148). The Spindlers note some exceptions, but in general these characteristics appear to them to constitute a sort of common denominator of traits which apparently existed aboriginally and tend to persist today among the most Conservative Indians. In their survey, the Spindlers omitted the Southeastern Indian cultures of which that of the Cherokees is one. Two participants in the Cross-Cultural Laboratory, Robert K. Thomas and Charles H. Holzinger, independently of each other attempted to fit their findings among the Conservative Eastern Cherokees to the Spindlers' formulation, and they both concluded that, with some explainable exceptions, the fit was good. Thomas, however, feels that in fitting the Cherokee traits into the common denominator, one may de-emphasize some crucially important characteristics of the Conservatives. In what follows, we shall draw upon Holzinger's and Thomas's interpretations and introduce additional material in the hope that it will satisfy Thomas's objections.

In taking this approach, we encounter an unresolved anthropological problem. Can there really be such an extensive set of deep similarities among Indian cultures which in many respects were aboriginally, and are even today, so different from each other, as are, for example, the Kaska of British Columbia, the Navaho of Arizona and New Mexico, and the Cherokees of North Carolina? If so, then it would seem either that the common denominator traits cannot be so important as is generally believed or that many of the differences among the various tribes in question are essentially superficial. Neither alternative is a happy one for the specialist in American Indians to contemplate. There is also the unresolved question of whether some of the common denominator traits, though rooted in the aboriginal cultures, are primarily responses of the Indians to the common problem of contacts with the white man. On this score, we can only point out that such anthropologists as A. I. Hallowell and A. F. C. Wallace, whose findings were utilized in the Spindlers' formulation, are convinced, having studied very early accounts, that many of the common denominator traits were truly aboriginal. It is also clear that they occur now in exclusively inter-Indian behavior and under such circumstances that it would be very difficult to show a clear-cut relationship between them and contact with the whites, either now or at the time of initial contact.

We cannot resolve these problems. We can only proceed, following others, on the assumption that these were aboriginal



traits, and that in their present form, they may be regarded as aboriginally derived traits. We do so, however, with caution, and the reader deserves to know the reasons for our caution.

a. *Non-demonstrative emotionality—control of interpersonal aggression in the in-group.*

Thomas (47, p. 6) feels that this is not actually a unitary trait, that the non-aggressiveness is close to what he regards as the pivot of the Conservative values system, while the non-demonstrative emotionality part is a consequence of this.

At any rate, it does not require an anthropological study to reveal the non-demonstrative emotionality. This is one Conservative trait which is very noticeable to all; and it is, of course, one of the stereotypic traits of American Indians generally. It is revealed in countless ways, of which the impassive reception of highly emotional sermons, the quietness of spectators at games, the lack of greetings between relatives after a separation, and stoicism in the face of pain are but a few. Holzinger (19, p. 4) feels that negative emotionality in particular (for example, anger or sadness) is not expressed. Outsiders are apt not to be very much aware of laughter (possibly because of their very presence), but Thomas emphasizes that laughter is actually one of the primary markers of the proper functioning of the Harmony Ethic, of which more anon.

Overt and direct expressions of hostility and aggression are definitely minimized, and it will be recalled that Conservative child-training definitely discourages such expression. Aboriginally, these emotions were given legitimate outlet in the activities of the War Organization; but within the town they were minimized, then as now. Holzinger, whose orientation is strongly psychoanalytic, makes much of the implications of this trait, as we shall see later. From the psychoanalytic viewpoint, hostility and aggression constitute a reservoir which must periodically be emptied. Hence, if overt expressions within the in-groups are minimized, as is at present the case, and there are no legitimate means of outward aggression, then these emotions must be severely repressed and will inevitably find indirect and/or illegitimate outlets. As evidence of the repression, Holzinger cites his experiments among Big Cove people with a version of the Rosenszweig Picture-Frustration Test. This consists of a set of cartoon pictures. Each picture portrays, usually, two persons, one of whom is experiencing anger or frustration directly or through the cues of the other. A "balloon" issues from the

mouth of each figure, that of the frustrated person being blank. The respondent to the test is asked to fill in the blank balloons of the frustrated persons, it being assumed that he will project himself into their situations. Among the portrayed situations are, for example, two women, one of whom is saying to the other "You're telling a lie and you know it!"; a man who has just hit his own thumb with a hammer being asked, "Did you hurt yourself?"; a woman saying to another while indicating a third, "She's the one who said those mean things about you;" a well-dressed man saying to a man in shabby clothes, "You can't come in here dressed that way;" and so on. Holzinger found that the Conservative responses were uniformly bland and unaggressive.

At this point we may make some profitable comparisons between the Conservatives and non-Indian mountain farmers whose ecology and settlement patterns are very similar to those of the Conservatives whose ancestors actually borrowed these traits from the early white settlers. R. P. Kutsche, Jr., collected 50 Rorschach ("ink blot") protocols from Big Cove, and 23 from men in a mountain neighborhood in Eastern Kentucky. He also lived in both settlements, making other types of observation. From the tests, he concludes that among the Conservatives, what little external emotion is expressed is well controlled, but he seems to attribute this more to the Conservatives' lack of energy than to repression (26, p. 5). The non-Indian highlanders also express little emotionality, but what there is is directly hostile (26, p. 8). These projective test findings serve as a useful check on, and confirmation of, many observations of the two populations. The legitimized bursts of direct aggression and the "chip-on-shoulder," "I'll fight you to the death for my honor" attitudes observed among the non-Indian Appalachian men have no counterpart among the Conservatives.

Aggression does occur among Conservatives, however, either indirectly—through malicious gossip and fear of conjuring, according to Holzinger—or in the form of direct attack almost always by a person who is intoxicated. The latter, particularly, is a violation of the Harmony Ethic, not to mention the laws of absolute prohibition which apply to the reservation and the surrounding counties.

The Harmony Ethic is, in Thomas's view, the core of the Conservative values system. According to it, the Conservative "tries to maintain harmonious interpersonal relationships with

his fellow Cherokee *by avoiding giving offense* on the negative side, and by giving of himself to his fellow Cherokee in regard to his time and his material goods on the positive side." (47, p. 1) The nature of this central Ethic will be seen in the fact that various aspects and ramifications of it are applicable to several of the Spindlers' common denominator traits. At this point, we need only mention that of the many possible ways of "giving offense," direct aggression is perhaps the most gross. It is of interest that Honigmann (21, pp. 264-70) encountered a very similar complex of behavior among the Kaska of British Columbia. What Thomas calls "avoiding giving offense" among the Cherokees, Honigmann calls "deference" among the Kaska. Among the Kaska, as among the Cherokees, the control of, or penalty for, giving offense, especially if it is aggressive, is withdrawal from the offender, a response which Honigmann sees as being essential "in a society without effective group controls." (21, p. 265) Since we doubt whether Conservative Cherokee society is without effective group controls, our analysis of the functions of this form of sanction will depart somewhat from Honigmann's. Ladd, in his study of Navaho ethics, describes the Navaho withdrawal sanction in terms which may well be applicable to the Cherokee ethic as well.

Punishment and blame are frowned upon by the Navaho moralist as forms of aggression, although he admits that they have to be taken into account as inevitable (though perhaps unjustifiable) consequences of one's crimes. Sanctions, as morally approved aggression, are not condoned in the Navaho culture. (27, p. 53)

There appears to be a close fit between these Navaho attitudes and those of the Conservative Cherokees. If an offender cannot be controlled by gossip and withdrawal,

... an impersonal agency, 'the law', is called upon. But it is evident that Cherokees are much more interested in having an errant individual stop his bad behavior than they are in punishing him for it. The punishment simply compounds the disharmony. (45, p. 4)

As far as the operation of non-interpersonal sanctions are concerned, there is evidence that belief in immanent justice is significantly frequent at least among Cherokee school children, if not adults. According to this belief, the cause of accidents and misfortunes is attributed to an omnipotent force which is punishing the victim for a moral transgression. Following a hypothesis proposed by Jean Piaget, Havighurst and Neugarten (1955) conducted tests among Papago, Zuni, Hopi, Navaho,

Zia, and Sioux children and found that, generally speaking, the Indian children, in contrast to non-Indian children, maintained or increased their belief in immanent justice as they increased in age. Harriet Kupferer replicated, with slight modifications, the Havighurst and Neugarten test among Cherokee school-children and among non-Indian schoolchildren in the immediate vicinity of the reservation. She found that the frequency of belief in immanent justice was about the same among the eight-to-eleven-year-olds in both populations (approximately 70 per cent). However, while its frequency among non-Indian adolescents decreased very markedly, it remained at the same high level among Indian adolescents. The crucial differences were statistically significant (24, p. 4). Furthermore, belief in immanent justice among the Conservative children of all ages was almost universal, whereas it was relatively less frequent among Cherokee children whose families live according to non-Conservative value-systems (24, p. 8).

In living from day to day according to the Harmony Ethic, the Conservative tries to avoid giving offense to others and in so doing, he must always "wait and see what the other's likes and dislikes are, and . . . perceive what demands are likely to be made of him." (47, p. 6) Thomas characterizes this demeanor as being particularly sensitive to subliminal cues in overt behavior. For the non-Indian, it is very difficult not to see great and pervading suspiciousness in this behavior; yet if Thomas's interpretation is correct, the negative aspect of suspiciousness is not necessarily operative in it.

- b. *A Pattern of Generosity that varies greatly in the extent to which it is a formalized social device without emotional depth.*

Holzinger (19, p. 5) feels that "helping people out," chiefly "through inability to refuse a request made either explicitly or implicitly," describes this behavior pattern more accurately than does generosity which has a connotation of sheer altruism.

Thomas (47, p. 7) emphasizes that among the Conservatives, being stingy with one's time or goods (especially food) is one of the most serious ways of "giving offense" and is sanctioned first by gossip and then by withdrawal. Conversely, giving of one's time and goods is perhaps the major positive way of maintaining the Harmony Ethic. Even though no demands are made of an individual, the fact that he happens to have



more than another person who is clearly in need, obligates him to give.

This is particularly true of food. The sharing of food has great symbolic value in Cherokee society, and there is a special Cherokee word which means stingy with food apart from another word which means stingy in other respects. (47, p. 7)

It should be obvious that if anyone attempting to abide by this ethic accedes to suggestions that he be thrifty of his time and goods, he will give great offense to others attempting to abide by the ethic.

Some observers have expressed doubt that the generosity pattern is really operative among the Conservatives, pointing to cases of what appear to be blatant stinginess, especially in regard to money. It should be remembered that the fact that an ethic is violated does not mean that there is no ethic. Secondly, money is a relatively new element in the Conservative environment, whereas the Harmony Ethic is very old and is defined largely in terms of other goods. In the operations of the box suppers, with the careful recording of who contributed how much so that it may be determined how much each may draw from the common fund, there may be a partial accession to "thrifty" procedures. On the other hand, the fact that the members draw rather than borrow from the fund, is illustrative of the Harmony Ethic. So, also, are the Conservatives' consistent demands that profits accruing to the entire Band be shared directly and equally among all the members. So, further, is the great offensiveness of the notion of monetary loans at interest. By comparison, Ladd (27, p. 254) observes that among the Navaho,

... help, whether it be in the form of labor or gifts, is thought to be "free" in that it does not have to be paid for. Gifts or help are offered to create general good will, and ostensibly without the thought or expectation of reciprocation; and the reciprocation, when it does come, is not considered a return but a new act of good will.

Given this orientation, it seems paradoxical that the Conservatives do not respond positively to the concept of working for the common good which is so prominent in, for example, the programs of the Community Clubs. One reason why they do not is that the aspect of generosity in the Harmony Ethic is defined largely in terms of specific individuals.

This is nowhere more apparent than in the activities of the Free Labor Companies. They work either for needy individuals



or for the purpose of mutual aid among the participants. In both cases, the benefits accrue to individuals, singly or plurally in sequence, and not to "the institution" or to any "generalized other." The persistence of the Free Labor Companies, almost alone among all the aboriginal aspects of social organization, is probably due to their relevance to the continued potency of the Harmony Ethic.

c. *Autonomy of the individual, linked with low socio-political dominance—submission hierarchies.*

To Thomas, this trait, which is actually composite, is another ramification of the Harmony Ethic. Whereas one actively maintains Harmony by giving of one's time and goods, one can passively maintain it by "minding one's own business." If everyone consistently minds his own business, it is clear why the recognition of the needs of others (calling for active generosity) can only be achieved by acute sensitivity to the cues of others. It may also be linked to the difficulty of perceiving the possible benefits of "common good" activities which necessarily involve minding others' business to some extent. Once again, we encounter a pertinent parallel among the Navaho whose *prudentalism*

... is oriented to the welfare of the individual agent . . . It is egoistic, although it differs from Western egoism in that the welfare of the agent is not subjectively defined in such terms as pleasure, *self-assertion*, *self-realization*, or sanctification (27. p. 213. italics ours).

Self-assertiveness, which is probably a concomitant of self-realization, appears to be quite foreign to the Conservative personality, presumably as an ego-ideal, and most certainly as a form of social behavior. The assertive individual is offensive in terms of the Harmony Ethic. This applies not only to aggressive behavior but to any form of drawing attention to oneself. There are some findings from research with experimental small groups (non-Indian) which are certainly suggestive in this connection. Working with dyads (two-person groups), Kurt Back found that those groups which were cohesive, *i.e.*, in which there was sustained mutual attraction between the members, were those in which there was "strenuous influence plus resistance to influence." (42, pp. 114-15) "Influence," in this case, means verbal argument. Strenuous argument pro and con an issue is behavior which Conservatives avoid since it involves a form of assertiveness which is offensive in terms of the Harmony Ethic. "Unless argument and uncertainty happen to be rewarding in them-

selves [which they may have been among the members of Back's cohesive dyads], they merely represent unnecessary costs." (42, p. 134) In these authors' thinking, "costs" are interferences in social interaction which, if not outbalanced by rewards, will lead to discontinuance of the interaction. Among the Conservatives, argument would certainly be an interfering "cost" in social relationships. These experimental findings suggest the nature of at least one functional link between the Harmony Ethic and the loose social organization, or lack of strongly cohesive groups, among the Conservatives.

This leads to the matter of leadership and authority. "Any authority given to one individual to wield over another is immoral by Cherokee standards. This would be real interference and 'giving offense'." (47, p. 8) Lack of authoritarian leadership has been mentioned before. It will be remembered that it was absent from the aboriginal White Organization and does not occur today in the Free Labor Companies nor in the social organization of settlements. Nevertheless, present-day Conservatives are not totally rejecting of some assertive and aggressive leaders. However, when it is remembered that, aboriginally, the role of the chief of the War Organization was an assertive, authoritarian one, and when it is noted that those present-day assertive leaders whom the Conservatives sometimes support define their position as being one of fighting for the Conservatives, this phenomenon becomes understandable. Now, as aboriginally, such leadership is acceptable only in the context of external struggle. In other contexts, it would be wholly unacceptable.

As far as internal decision-making processes are concerned, Thomas notes that the committee is the most acceptable form to the Conservatives; and indeed, the officers of the Free Labor Companies, for example, would appear to function more as a committee than as a hierarchy.

Within such structures, the Conservative ideal is to reach decisions which have unanimous support, and the role of the leader ("beloved old man") is not to direct and dominate, but, through sensitivity and circumspection, to guide the discussions in such a way that this is achieved. If some individuals prove unable to agree with what would otherwise be a unanimous decision, they are free to dissociate themselves from the whole affair and go on their own way. This is one type of behavior which leads to the characterization of individual autonomy. In

terms of this viewpoint, the concept of majority rule, which is fundamental in the parliamentary procedures which the Eastern Cherokees generally have thoroughly adopted, is threatening to the Harmony Ethic. An outvoted minority is not necessarily reconciled to the majority, but it goes along with the decision. To Conservatives, going along with a decision with which one disagrees is allowing oneself to be dominated; and furthermore, the existence of an outvoted minority is seen as a source of conflict. In other words, it violates the Conservative values system in two ways. Conservative voting behavior is a consequence of these discontinuities. Conservatives tend either to vote "for" something, or "yes", or not to vote at all. Abstention is thus a means of dissociation, and those who have, for example, attended a meeting at which they abstained from voting on an issue characteristically do not cooperate with the decision that was voted.

In outlining these three components of the aboriginally derived segment of the Conservative values system, we have tried to show certain linkages between them, to show that they are consistent with each other to such a degree that, in fact, they might all be subsumed under the heading of Harmony Ethic. At this point, however, we reach an apparent paradox which seems to confuse many persons who attempt to understand the Conservatives. On the one hand, specific items of behavior which fall into the category of individual autonomy look, to non-Indian eyes, like "rugged individualism." On the other hand, the lack of self-assertiveness and the readiness to receive without making any obvious return look like dependence. Yet in terms of standard American middle class values, one of the primary components of "rugged individualism" is aggressive independence. Therefore, when one attempts to characterize the Conservatives in terms both of rugged individualism and dependence, as many non-Indians seem to do, the result is mystification rather than insight. This is a problem of labels which are applicable to one culture being applied uncritically to another. It will be noted that in the preceding analysis neither of the terms "dependence" nor "individualism" was used. In attempting cross-cultural understanding, the smell of the rose is very much affected by the name one gives it.

The "egocentricity" of the Kaska, with its "need for self-sufficiency" (21, p. 251) would appear to have more affinity with "rugged individualism" than it does with Conservative

Cherokee individualism. Honigmann associates this trait with the "atomism of social life" among the Kaska; and while some observers have referred to Conservative Cherokee social organization as "atomistic," it is not nearly so much so as that of the Kaska, as the tradition of town organization reflected in the Free Labor Companies plainly attests.

It is pertinent at this point to mention briefly one of the three values-orientations which Charles Morris (30, p. 39) derived from the statistical combination of the differential preferences for thirteen "ways to live" which he obtained from several thousand college students chiefly from the United States, India, and China. The three types he calls Dominance, Detachment, and Dependence, and the components of the last seem to have some relevance to the Conservative Cherokees. The components of Dependence which are oriented to the self include: (1) enjoyment of simple, obtainable pleasures, the pleasures of "just existing" rather than intense and exciting ones; (2) no driving, ambitious or fanatic pursuit of ideals; (3) enjoyment of life rather than striving for control of society or of the lives of others; (4) the avoidance of social entanglements, a balance of solitude and sociability. The components of Morris's Dependence which are oriented toward others than the self are: (1) willingness to let oneself be used by others in their growth, nourishing the good by devotion; (2) the feeling that good things come of their own accord rather than being sought by resolute action; and (3) sympathetic concern for others as implemented by unwillingness to impose oneself on others, or to be greedy for possessions or for power over things and people (30, pp. 16-18). Morris's usage of "dependence" obviously has many more connotations than are usually associated with the word.

While these associated traits do not fit the Conservative perfectly, there is enough of a correspondence, we believe, to make the comparison worthy of mention. Of particular interest is the fact that Morris found among a totally different population a statistically significant combination of traits which also appears to occur among the Eastern Cherokees.

d. *Ability to endure pain, hardship, hunger, and frustration without external evidence of discomfort.*

On the physical side, this is simply an elaborate phrasing of Indian stoicism, and there is no doubt about its being characteristic of the Conservative Cherokees. Thomas (45, p. 9) sees



it as being related to their assumption that pain is simply one of those aspects of life about which one can do little, coupled with their feeling that any excessive emotional expression is unseemly. Thomas would, in fact, subsume this characteristic under the heading of non-demonstrative emotionality.

As far as frustration—presumably social frustration—is concerned, Thomas remarks that it certainly causes discomfort which is most characteristically expressed by withdrawal from the offending agent who may well be criticized later on. In fact, social hurts tend not to be forgotten, and it is in this respect that the sanction system of the Harmony Ethic may be dysfunctional in that it does not permit a direct working off of such feelings.

e. *A positive valuation on bravery and courage.*

In terms of stoicism, this characteristic applies to the Conservative Cherokees, but individual heroism is not greatly stressed. Thomas points to victors in the ballgame, and to an occasional law officer or soldier, who may be singled out for these qualities. However, the military tradition of the Cherokees was quite different in this respect from that of the Plains Indians with its dramatic, individualistic exploits of coup-counting, etc. Aboriginal Cherokee warriors were afforded honors, but the War Organization itself was circumscribed; and after about 1800 it became entirely discredited (47, p. 10).

This de-emphasis on individual heroics among the Conservatives in no way implies lack of bravery. Rather, it is a reflection of the ethic which discourages self-assertive individualism.

f. *A generalized fear of the world as dangerous, and particularly a fear of witchcraft.*

I think that a generalized view of the world as dangerous is another outgrowth of the core of the values system . . . the most dangerous part of the dangerous world is mankind. If one must avoid giving offense all the time, wait to see what demands are going to be made on one, and be punished if one does not conform, then it is indeed a dangerous world. I think that to most Cherokees each situation in which a new person has to be fitted into a set of interpersonal relations or in which a known person has to be faced in a new context, becomes something of a trauma . . . Since the other person is an unknown quality . . . and one is never sure of one's relations with him, then fear of witchcraft becomes important. Fear of witchcraft acts to keep relations smooth (by forestalling "offensive" behavior) and to punish offenders. Eastern Cherokees are losing their fear of witchcraft, not because the world is



less dangerous, but because they no longer believe in the efficacy of witchcraft as a technique. (47, p. 11)

This statement poses some very serious interpretative problems which we do not pretend to have solved to our complete satisfaction. In the first place, it is suggested here, contrary to our warning earlier in this chapter, that genuine suspiciousness does enter into the cautious, feeling-out nature of social relationships. This would, however, appear to be the case primarily in new, non-routine cases. Perhaps we can tentatively conclude that the Harmony Ethic predisposes one to this type of suspiciousness when the realization that this ethic can (like all ethical systems) be violated is particularly acute.

The extent to which belief in the potency of witchcraft is entertained among the contemporary Conservatives is a matter on which we have no objective data, nor is anyone likely to be able to obtain such data. We know that such belief exists, but we do not know to how great a degree it functions in interpersonal relationships. If confidence in the techniques of witchcraft has waned, as confidence in the conjuror has indeed waned, then it is difficult to believe that the psychological reality of witchcraft has not also waned.

Though we lack "scientific proof" of the proposition that the Conservative Harmony Ethic can and does exist side by side with occasions of suspicion and the indirect malevolent aggression of witchcraft, we have shown, and will show further, that the Harmony Ethic "fits" various objective observations of Conservative behavior. That such hostility exists is not proof that the Harmony Ethic does not exist, but only that the ethic is imperfect. In this respect it has good company, for surely few faithful Christians will deny that while they sincerely believe in the Word of Jesus Christ, they nevertheless often fail to abide by the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount.

There would, however, seem to be a point beyond which violations of an ethic so dominate a cultural situation that the ethic itself is entirely obscured, and the observer has good reason to ask whether the ethic is not merely verbal and of no motivational significance whatever. This, in regard to the Harmony Ethic, would seem to be the opinion of Charles H. Holzinger who sees suspicion as the dominant theme in Conservative social relationships whose "whole fabric" is colored by the fear of witchcraft (19, p. 9). We cannot disprove this con-

tention. We can only repeat the statement of our impression that the conception of the Harmony Ethic does fit some objectively observable phenomena; hence it exists. It exists, however, at the apparent cost of considerable strain, and the significance of this we shall consider in a later chapter.

The pervasive fear of the "dangerous world" which is imputed in this characteristic would not appear to be substantially borne out by projective tests of Conservatives.

It is worth noting that the disorder in the Big Cove man's universe which is represented by caricatured and deformed animals (and by the fairly frequent "monsters") is specific. That is, each horrible percept, each turtle with its insides cut out, dangerous beetle, nameless monster, or mammal with its fangs bared, is seen clearly, and its outlines are sharp. There is very little evidence of diffuse anxiety, of that sort of generalized fear which among some neurotic Puritans in American culture, turns every new experience into a threat. (26, p. 6)

- g. *A "practical joker" strain that is nearly everywhere channeled institutionally and appears to be a safety valve for in-group aggressions held sharply in check.*

Aboriginally, and while the clan system remained in operation, the Eastern Cherokees definitely exhibited this type of behavior, and it was presumably a safety valve. With the decline of the Crow-system of kinship nomenclature and the structural patterns associated with it, however, such ascribed channels of aggressive expression have become obscured. Thomas (47, p. 12) says that there is still a tendency to indulge in rough joking with brothers-in-law and with anyone whom one calls "brother" or "sister" (usually, now, actual brother or sister or, occasionally, some cousins), but that such joking is diffuse and can hardly be considered to be a safety valve. Holzinger (19, p. 10) seems to agree that practical joking no longer has a discernible pattern and so cannot be considered to be a reliable safety valve for aggressive impulses, although humor of this sort—even if only in the form of puns in the Cherokee language—is still operative. The booger dance was another form of satirical release (17, pp. 64-5) of which the Conservatives have been deprived during the past 25 to 30 years (see also 38, pp. 25-39).

- h. *Attention to concrete realities rather than to abstract integration in terms of long-range goals.*

This characteristic is rapidly becoming a stereotype of all peoples in the world who are not actively involved in science and industry—in other words, of nearly everyone in the world

except those actively involved in science and industry who are the very ones who have created the stereotype. Without more precision, this conception is, in our opinion, of limited value. Who in the world is not concerned with concrete realities? And is not the scientific and industrial concern with the abstract future not a form of concern with concrete reality in itself?

With this somewhat cantankerous comment, we will record the unanimous impression of all observers that the Conservatives are "being oriented" rather than "becoming oriented;" and that Kutsche's Rorschach protocols indicate a literalness and carefulness of perception (26, p. 4). We further draw attention to the local stereotype of the Conservative cutting firewood ("for today and maybe tomorrow, but not for the whole winter") and remind the reader of the various examples of short-term financial planning which we have given in previous chapters.

i. *Dependence on supernatural power which can be acquired through dreams.*

This trait has reference primarily to the phenomena of the "vision-quest" and communion with animal-spirit familiars which was aboriginally widespread among North American Indians. The individualistic vision-quest for spiritual power, utilizing self-torture and deprivations, was not, however, a trait of aboriginal Cherokee culture. This was consistent with the aboriginal lack of individual self-assertion and self-realization which has continued to the present time.

Thomas says (47, pp. 13-14) that supernatural power was never acquired through dreams, although new formulas and ritual ideas may have been. Efficacy in the priesthood was gained through study and "gaining knowledge." He describes this as being a "rational" and "pragmatic" orientation rather than a mystical one. As far as present-day Conservative culture is concerned, the relevance of this matter seems to be largely limited to its consistency, through negative traits, with other traits more central to the culture.

This completes our description of the aboriginally-derived portion of the values system of the Conservatives, as we see them. We now move on to a consideration of those aspects of their culture which were borrowed, or diffused, from the white frontiersmen. Since we have anticipated a good deal of this material, our consideration of it here can be brief.

Elsewhere (15, pp. 248-9) we have outlined four periods

of Eastern Cherokee cultural history: 1838-70, 1870-90, 1890-1934, 1934 to the present. Thomas (46, p. 15) visualizes the same span of history as falling into three periods: 1839-75, 1875-1920, 1920 to the present. In both formulations, the first period was one of major readjustment and reintegration during which the present-day Conservative traits derived from the white frontiersmen were adopted, or at least in which the adoption process was completed. (It will be remembered that the original refugee band at the time of the Removal was composed of some of the then most Conservative Cherokees, *i.e.*, those least influenced by the whites. While they had undoubtedly been culturally influenced to some extent, the process was carried further after the Removal.)

The second period was one of stability and isolation. Gulick ends this period with the *beginning* of factors which broke the isolation and the stability: lumbering, wage labor, in-migration of persons with minimal degrees of Indian inheritance, compulsory education, etc. Thomas ends this period at the approximate date when he feels that the *effects* of these factors really began to be significant. Gulick, in effect, sees a special period of transition in his third period, a period marked by (1) the loss or weakening of certain aboriginal traits which had, up to that time, been preserved; and (2) the increasingly severe strains on the subsistence farming economy. Both authors are dealing with the same cultural phenomena, hence their somewhat different headings are not significant. Given a choice between the two, Gulick would now be inclined to accept Thomas's sequence rather than his own.

We have already reviewed some of the ecological and demographic adaptations which were made in the first period. House types, settlement patterns, and farming techniques (including cattle raising and growing orchards) based primarily on white models, were adopted. This process, undoubtedly furthered by the dislocations of the Removal, also included, Thomas believes, an early breakdown of the matrilineage (although the less specific notion of clan was retained far longer) in favor of nuclear families and bilateral kinship extensions beyond nuclear families. Despite the shift in settlement patterns, however, aspects of the old town organization were preserved. Christianity—particularly of the Fundamentalist sort—became completely accepted. At the same time, however, many of the aboriginal dances, the stickball game, and aboriginal herbal medicine con-



tinued on as active aspects of the culture. The Cherokee language was the universal means of communication.

During this period and the ensuing period of stability and isolation, all the present-day aboriginally derived traits which we have described above were, of course, present; but, unlike the present, they were buttressed and accompanied by other aboriginal traits. Those traits diffused from the whites were shared fully by the neighboring whites of the day and evidently were not in conflict with the remaining aboriginal ones. Whatever discontinuities existed between the culture of the nineteenth century Eastern Cherokees and their white contemporaries were apparently to a large extent mediated by physical isolation.

The stable period of Eastern Cherokee culture would appear to be that which John Witthoft has in mind when he discusses what he calls the "reservation culture" of Eastern Woodland Indians generally. He describes this culture as being "highly eclectic and functionally structured. . . . which American Indian communities had constructed out of cultural material of both aboriginal and European origin." (49, p. 7) And again, "a live, adaptive, and highly integrated system of behavior, belief, and technique well fitted to life in a specific environment and age." (49, p. 10)

While the stable period was evidently relatively free of value conflicts, it should not be supposed that it was therefore an idyllic period for the Eastern Cherokees. The shadow of the Removal certainly hung over the people, and legal negotiations concerning various consequences of the Removal were protracted over the greater part of the nineteenth century; nor was the economic situation always favorable, even by subsistence farming standards. Nevertheless, until the 1890's, the people were to a large degree left alone to pursue their everyday lives as they saw fit. During this period, such traits as are implied by the "being" (as opposed to "becoming") orientation and by unfamiliarity with financial arrangements and "modern" domestic hygienic procedures in no way differentiated the Indians from their non-Indian neighbors. Today, the few remaining enclaves of subsistence farming non-Indians in the region appear to be virtually identical with the Conservative Eastern Cherokees in these respects, and one cannot insist that they are either aboriginally-derived or derived from early white contacts. Actually, they constitute a product of convergence between the two cultural traditions. Nevertheless, they are more easily as-



sociable with traits which are white-derived (house types, settlement patterns, the nuclear family, and the subsistence-farming division of labor) than they are with any aboriginally derived traits.

At any rate, it is the retention of these traits today which constitutes one component of the "adaptive trait" segment of the Conservative values system, to which we now turn. The adaptation consists of not having altered these traits at the same time when there has been widespread alteration of them among neighboring non-Indians and among some Eastern Cherokees (by definition, the non-Conservative ones).

The characteristic failure of the Conservatives to develop a "becoming orientation," to become more efficient in monetary matters and to adopt techniques such as screening, sanitary privies, and garbage disposal could be accounted for in at least four ways: (1) they are simply ignorant of these matters; (2) though not ignorant of them, they are too stupid to perceive their utility and value; (3) such adoptions would conflict with certain of the retained aboriginally derived traits; (4) there is a conscious or semi-conscious resistance to adopting traits which are identified with non-Indian culture.

We believe that we can discard the first two possibilities. The Conservatives are not ignorant of these traits—at least not ignorant of the more concrete ones relating to economics and hygiene. For years they have been exposed to explanations and demonstrations of them. Nor are the Conservatives—as an aggregation—stupid, *i.e.*, relatively incapable of appreciating cause-and-effect relationships which are set forth explicitly. They often seem to earn rather low scores on the various tests administered to them in the schools (23, p. 8), but this is not conclusive as to intelligence unless intelligence be defined in terms of speed and dexterity in manipulating essentially literary materials. In order to correct this chronic problem in interpreting standard intelligence tests, the Porteus Maze test, which is not dependent upon literary skills, was administered to a sample of Big Cove Conservatives. A wide range of scores was, as might be expected, recorded, but as a whole, the sample compared very favorably with "normal" samples from the American population at large (R. D. Fogelson, field notes).

Values conflicts, however, undoubtedly constitute a deterrent to the adoption of these "modern" traits. To the extent that "becoming orientation" takes concrete form in assertively "bet-

tering oneself" by budgeting one's time and goods, there is specific conflict between it and the expectations of generosity in the Harmony Ethic. To the extent that the "becoming orientation" involves foregoing immediate satisfactions in planning for greater ones in the indefinite future, there is the deterrent of a traditional and still operative economy of scarcity. To the extent that the "becoming orientation" utilizes strong and directive, though democratic, leadership, there is a deterrent in the Conservative conceptions of leadership. It is more difficult, however, to relate Conservative failure to adopt modern hygienic practices to any clear-cut conflict with aboriginally derived traits. Elsewhere (16, p. 27), we have suggested that there might be a conflict between the cosmological implications of the germ-theory of disease and aboriginal Cherokee conceptions of the relationship between Man and Nature, but it has become difficult to support this suggestion with any convincing data. There is, furthermore, a better explanation at hand.

Conscious resistance to the adoption of non-Indian traits is a Conservative motive which has been revealed by explicit statements. Conservatives wish to retain their identity as Indians. To them, "being Indian" is the totality of their behavioral patterns at the present time. Any change in these patterns would mean, to them, a further loss of Indian traits, a dilution of "Indianness." This is one factor in the resistance. It is coupled with Conservatives' resentment of non-Indians. This resentment does not appear to be clearly perceived by all the non-Indians who are in contact with the Conservatives, and to the extent that it is perceived by some of them, it is, of course, disturbing and puzzling (23, p. 3, *f.*). Nevertheless, those who know the Conservatives well attest without much hesitation to the fact of its existence. It is rarely, if ever, expressed directly, although John Grant encountered a few explicit statements of it in the themes which were written for him by Cherokee school children. Perhaps the most telling marker of it of which we are aware is the use of the word *yunega* (white person) as a generalized term of personal opprobrium.

Resentment of non-Indians is the result of a long history, beginning, in the view of most Conservatives, with the Removal, and continuing with the ever-constant threat, as they see it, of non-Indians' taking their land away from them, and so on. This sense of threat has been reinforced by the events of the past 60 years. During this time, subsistence farming

became defective; more persons with minimal Indian inheritance moved onto the reservation; a compulsory education system was introduced which, until 1934, explicitly and punitively discouraged the practice of Indian traits; some aboriginally derived traits were lost, and others, such as use of herbal medicine and the use of the Cherokee language, decreased in universality; and the Conservatives have received constant exhortations to improve themselves by becoming more like non-Indians.

This process has been variously labeled as cultural depression, truncation, dysfunction, and traumatization. However one labels it, it has been a period of net loss to the Conservatives, coupled with external pressures. The pressures seem to spell further loss, and they are generally conducted in an aggressive manner which, because of Conservative attitudes regarding aggression and assertion, seem hostile.

From these experiences, however, something new has been added to the total complex of Conservative traits, and it is the last of the adaptive traits which we will consider. This trait is the Conservative self-image. The Conservative is, to himself, "a separate-for-all-time, distinct man," his distinction being that he is a "true Indian." Being a true Indian means practicing the entire complex of Conservative traits as we have outlined them. These aspects of the self-image we have mentioned before. What has been added to this image is the recognition that to be a true Indian is to practice certain traits which are viewed with disfavor by non-Indians, which non-Indians would like to see changed, and in the process of change, eradicate the "true Indians." Holzinger has referred to a prevailing "apocalyptic" Conservative view of the world, an orientation toward inevitable doom and destruction. The same view is expressed in a series of themes about being an Indian, about the future of the reservation, and so on, which were written for John L. Grant by Cherokee school children during 1956-57. In essence, these are not so much views of the world as they are part of a self-image. The same thing has been referred to by Robert Thomas who attributes the current problems of the Conservatives not so much to their specific aboriginally-derived traits but more to their awareness that they are a minority group (44, p. 1), many of whose characteristics are denigrated by others. The Conservative self-image is therefore ambivalent: on the one hand, it is the image of being true representatives of the

"civilized tribe" of Cherokee Indians; on the other hand, it is an image of devalued and doomed "Indianness."

In summary, Conservative culture consists of: (1) an aboriginally derived values system whose core is the Harmony Ethic which enjoins non-aggressive and non-assertive behavior even in the control of deviance, and autonomy of the individual, which is coupled with sensitivity to the emergency needs of others to which the most organized response is the Free Labor Company. Preference for use of the Cherokee language is a "marker" of the operation of these traits and may, to some extent, facilitate their operation; (2) traits derived from the culture of the non-Indians with whom the ancestors of the Conservatives had primary contact at the time of the Removal when their present society came into being—house types, settlement patterns, formal religion, the nuclear family, subsistence farming dominated by males which is not supplemented by hunting, and a "present orientation" associated with the absence of patterns for financial planning and for the prevention of disease through hygienic procedures. The last item, a complex of items, may be regarded as having resulted from a convergence of aboriginally-derived and "white-frontier"-derived traits; (3) traits derived directly from neither of the above-mentioned sources but rather resulting from adaptation to the cultural events of the past sixty years or so, in particular. First, there persists a failure to develop a "becoming" or "future" orientation, associated with continued ineptitude in financial plan- and hygienic procedures despite the fact that opportunities—or at least examples—of such development have become readily available. Second, a self-image which defines all of the above traits, including non-Indian disapproval of the last in particular, as being "true Indian," persists.

A partial answer to the question why Conservative culture has been perpetuated lies in the Conservative self-image which defines all the culture's components as being "Indian," "Indianness" being a quality which is cherished. However, the image has also incorporated the negative evaluations by non-Indians of some of the component traits, creating ambivalence and conflict. And yet we have seen that those traits which particularly evoke the negative evaluations of non-Indians are not, primarily, truly Indian traits in the sense that they are aboriginally derived. Rather, they seem to be traits which have become significant only during the last 60 years. Surely these



relatively latter-day traits cannot be so securely incorporated into the self-image as the others; and if this is the case, why have not the Conservatives, given their basic intelligence, been able to divorce them from the definition of "Indianness," make the necessary adaptations, and thereby alter their status of "depressed minority"? The answer to this question is that more than mere intelligence, more than mere rationality, is involved in the problem. Sixty years is a long enough time for the *entire* Conservative complex of traits to have become interrelated as a functional whole. Through these interrelationships, the identification of the latter-day, negatively adaptive traits with "Indianness" has become an unconscious, psychic reality to the Conservatives. It is not a mere label which can be applied or removed at will. While we believe that the ultimate solution can lie only in analysis and the conscious exercise of rationality, this stage has not yet been reached.

It remains for us to demonstrate, as best we can, the dynamics of interrelationships among the traits of Conservative culture. In doing this, we must rely on some theoretical constructs which can neither be proved nor disproved. We shall, however, endeavor never to lose sight of the concrete problems of living whose elucidation is our purpose.





PART III

THEORETICAL DIMENSIONS



## CHAPTER IX. THE DYNAMICS OF THE CONSERVATIVE VALUES SYSTEM

### 1. THE STRUCTURAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF THE ABORIGINALLY-DERIVED TRAITS

Why and how has the Conservative values system been perpetuated? This is the basic question which we have put to ourselves. In describing as fully as we can the components of the values system, we have taken the first necessary step in the direction of an answer; and at the same time we have taken one step further. We have shown that the aboriginally derived traits are a selection of traits of the aboriginal culture, and we have given a partial explanation of the particular selection by discussing the historical circumstances under which a number of aboriginal traits were lost. In this way we accounted for the demise of the nucleated town structure, the War Organization, the matrilineal kinship system, and others. This, however, did not answer the question why the existing aboriginally derived traits were not also lost. Our reasoning on this subject has already to some extent been stated, but more needs to be said.

We suggest that the Cherokee language and the Harmony Ethic have been preserved because of an efficient mechanism of trans-generational learning which has operated in the absence of any compelling external reasons for discarding the language or the Ethic. Conservatives are people among whose near and distant ancestors there have been few, if any, mothers and fathers who were not themselves enculturated in terms of the language and the Ethic. There has therefore been little or no interference by non-Indian parental models. The transmission of these traits has been uninterrupted and has been begun and reinforced in the infancy and early childhood of each individual. Comparative ethnographic and theoretical support for the concept of the efficacy of Indian parental models and early learning is to be found among the Mandan-Hidatsa Indians of the Western Plains (5, pp. 622-3).

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Eastern Cherokees lived in isolation, supporting themselves by a subsistence economy whose operations were in no way impeded by either the Cherokee language or the Harmony Ethic. It can, however, be argued that since the turn of the century there *has* been an increasingly compelling external reason why the Harmony Ethic

should be discarded or at least significantly modified. This reason is that the Ethic does not predispose toward effective participation in the competitive give-and-take of the market economy and social organization of non-Indian Americans, Conservative adaptation to which would appear to be a compelling need, given the decline of their subsistence economy. In answer to this argument, it should be recognized that the Harmony Ethic may indeed be in the process of undirected modification among the Conservatives; but we believe that it has not been discarded because among most Conservatives there are certain attitudes and emotions which prevent them from seeing that the need is compelling. This will be discussed further later on.

In regard to the reality of the Harmony Ethic, assumption of which presupposes the question of its viability, the claim has been made that by postulating its existence we can account functionally for a number of overt Conservative traits. The interrelationships among these were discussed in Chapter VIII and need not be repeated here.

It has been postulated that the Harmony Ethic is the integrating mechanism of the aboriginally derived traits, and we have initiated, though not completed, our argument as to why it has so far been perpetuated in the face of external pressures.

We must now, however, consider the fact that there also are internal pressures in the Conservative behavioral system, and we must answer the question why these have not long since disintegrated the Harmony Ethic. These pressures are the result of the fact that the Ethic makes no provision whatever for the legitimate and direct release of aggressive and/or hostile impulses. This is a striking fact inasmuch as aboriginal Cherokee culture provided for the release of such impulses in ways which permitted their dissociation from, and non-interference with, the Harmony Ethic of that bygone era. The aboriginal traits involved in these functions were among those which were subsequently lost. Current behavioral theory leaves us no choice but to assume that if legitimized releases of aggression and hostility are not available, these emotions will inevitably find release in other ways. Among the contemporary Conservatives, these other ways consist, according to various observers, of malicious gossip, suspiciousness, projection of malevolence onto the screen of conjuring, and violent outbursts of physical aggression under the influence of alcohol. Gossip and specifically directed conjuring, though contrary to the Ethic in spirit, are



nevertheless consistent with it in the sense that they are indirectly aggressive. They were probably present, to some extent, aboriginally. However, suspiciousness, and certainly direct physical aggression, are not only contrary to the Ethic but would seem to exclude it entirely. It is difficult to conceive how, under the circumstances, the Harmony Ethic can survive these emotions and actions which, unchecked, would mean its negation. Yet they exist, and we claim that the Harmony Ethic also exists. It follows then, that there must be checks on uncontrolled aggressions over and beyond the withdrawal sanction which is obviously often not effective. Our thesis is that these checks are to be found in behavioral patterns which, like the long defunct War organization, provide the release of excessive aggressiveness in such a manner that it is dissociated from the operations of the Harmony Ethic among the Conservatives themselves. While these patterns do not entirely prevent direct aggressiveness and hostility among the Conservatives, they prevent them from intensifying to the exclusion of the Ethic. In this connection, it should be noted that the existence of generalized suspiciousness is based on impressions only, supported by a number of instances, but not susceptible of quantification and not clearly borne out by projective tests. Physical violence due to intoxication is not of rare occurrence, but intoxication by no means always leads to it. Stupor is an equally, if not more likely, consequence of intoxication.

## 2. THE CONGRUENCE OF ABORIGINALLY DERIVED AND DIFFUSED TRAITS

In accounting for the perpetuation of the Conservative values system, we have shown that its aboriginally derived traits, with the exception of some dysfunctional behavioral patterns whose final discussion must be deferred until later, constitute a functionally interrelated sub-system.

Next, we must show the congruence of this sub-system with those traits which were diffused from the culture of the nineteenth-century non-Indian frontiersmen. Not all of the latter culture was by any means diffused, but, rather, it was a selective process.

It will be recalled that Conservative lack of appreciation of the germ theory of disease, and its various corollaries, since it was characteristic of both aboriginal Cherokee culture and of nineteenth-century frontier culture, must be attributed to both

sources convergently, rather than to one or the other exclusively. We pass on to Fundamentalist Christianity, the bilateral kinship system, and the behavioral expectations associated with subsistence farming.

Some observers find it difficult to detect any congruence between such aspects of Christian dogma as Original Sin and Redemption, and aboriginal Cherokee cosmological conceptions which involved an abstraction of the Harmony Ethic. However, we have no idea of the extent to which aboriginal cosmological conceptions are maintained, if they are maintained at all, and so no argument can be made on the subject. We can, however, point to at least some other congruences. The most dramatic one is the formal and to some extent conceptual compatibility between Christian total baptism and aboriginal "going-to-water." Both take place in the water of a flowing stream, and both involve the conception of purification. The Indian doctor's use of "going-to-water" contributes to his belief that his practices are not in conflict with Christianity. The non-authoritarian organization of the congregations is congruent with aboriginally derived patterns of social organization. The highly emotional sermons are not congruent with aboriginally derived traits, but the Conservative reaction to them is. Furthermore, it is possible that the content of the sermons, in which there is repeated emphasis on the coming of Armageddon and the Last Judgment, is supportive of the Conservative self-image. Though we classify the self-image as an adaptive trait, we shall show that it is, in part, also a product of the Harmony Ethic. In this instance, we are, therefore, suggesting a case of triadic, rather than merely dyadic, congruence.

The gradual assimilation of a bilateral kinship system in place of a matrilineal one has undoubtedly been stressful at times. We see it as having been related to the destruction of the nucleated town and to the adoption of subsistence farming which involved a far greater participation of the men in sedentary, productive tasks than had been the case in the aboriginal culture. Eventually, however, even the usages of the Cherokee language were adapted to the new kinship system.

With the increasing defectiveness of subsistence farming in recent decades, the women's subsistence roles have remained relatively constant in contrast to the men's which have not, at the present time, been satisfactorily adapted to external pressures.

### 3. THE FORMAL DERIVATION OF THE ADAPTIVE TRAITS

It was previously pointed out that while the adaptive traits are, in functional terms, new creations, the forms which they take are in large part products of, or based on, aboriginally derived and/or diffused traits. The latter aspect of them will be considered in this section. In other words, we shall discuss the extent to which the forms of the adaptive traits are congruent with the other two trait systems.

Conservative resentment of non-Indians is explainable easily enough in terms of historical events wherein the American Indians generally were victimized directly and indirectly by immigrants who controlled more efficient sources of energy and power. That such resentment continues is partly due to the fact that contemporary programs intended to "help" the Indians are seen by them as further attempts at coercion, since if the help were accepted, it would make the Indians more like the non-Indians. Among the Eastern Cherokee Conservatives, the resentment is also the consequence of the psychological dynamics of the situation in which they find themselves.

While impelled by historical circumstances and psychological mechanisms, the form of Conservative resentment is nevertheless congruent with the Harmony Ethic. It is never expressed by direct aggression, even when inhibitions are released under the influence of alcohol. While violent attacks against members of otherwise generally superordinate groups are commonplace in other situations, they never occur in this one. Its most direct expression is in usages of the Cherokee language, which are not understood by non-Indians.

Although the mere absence of hygienic practices (such as screening, use of sanitary privies, and effective garbage disposal) could be interpreted as being a continuation of aboriginally derived and/or diffused trait-systems, the *failure* to adopt them after years of demonstrations is an adaptive trait. This failure cannot easily be attributed to any resistances which might inhere in the premises of the Harmony Ethic. For example, the notion that the germ theory of disease (which assumes the organism to be under constant attack by Nature) is inimical to the Harmony Ethic is probably an over-intellectualization of the situation. Even if there may be an element of truth in it—and we are not now convinced that there is—the resistance cannot be wholehearted, for Conservatives have ac-

cepted curative therapies which are based on the germ theory of disease. We must look further for the formal dynamics of this trait.

The failure of Conservatives to participate successfully in commercial competition, to the extent that this calls for individualistic self-assertion, is congruent with the Harmony Ethic. The difficulties which they have in saving effectively have also been shown to be consistent with the generosity aspects of the Ethic. The apparently ready acceptance of public assistance without embarrassment has also been interpreted in this vein. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that no one waxes fat on public assistance. In the face of compelling economic need—the kind of need which has wrought modifications, willy-nilly, in many other cultural patterns—it does not seem sufficient, in accounting for these traits, merely to say that they are inflexible by reason of their congruence with aboriginally derived traits.

The first crucial fact about the Conservative self-image is that it includes more than the conception that the Conservatives are the living representatives of the Cherokee Nation and the bearers of what remains of aboriginal Cherokee culture. Incorporated with this conception are (1) the image of victimization by the Removal and the assumption of continual external threats subsequent to the Removal; (2) the identification of the diffused and adaptive traits as being "Indian;" and (3) the awareness that non-Indians regard the adaptive traits, in particular, as being undesirable. Awareness of the last item has been made plain to the Conservatives by explicit communication from non-Indians. Its incorporation in the Conservative self-image is abundantly revealed in the themes which were written by school children, in which Indians were repeatedly described as being "shy," living in poor houses, and so on. Non-Conservative Cherokee children, incidentally, tended much more toward describing Indians as being pretty much "like anyone else."

The second crucial fact about the self-image is that the Conservatives cherish their status as Indians and under no circumstances wish to relinquish it. Now, if the status of Indian is to be identified with "Indianness," and if "Indianness" is to be defined as including not only the aboriginally derived traits but also the diffused and adaptive ones, must we conclude that the Conservatives cherish the diffused and adaptive traits as well as the aboriginally derived ones?



One could not give an affirmative answer to this question without becoming mired in some of the more ambiguous quicksands of psychoanalysis. We do know that the Conservatives cherish their Indian status, but we have no evidence that they cherish the diffused and adaptive traits in themselves. The question remains, then: why have the adaptive traits, in particular, become so closely associated with the concept of "Indianness"?

#### 4. SOME FUNCTIONS OF DYSFUNCTION

It has been suggested that individuals or groups who have been, or believe themselves to have been, victimized tend to exhibit compensatory modes of behavior which can be classified into two types: extropunitive and intropunitive (1, p. 160). The Conservatives' attitude toward their adaptive situation would appear to be basically extropunitive in the sense that they tend to blame external causes for their difficulties. However, their behavioral responses are at variance with some of those which Allport associates with the extropunitive attitude, such as aggression and revolt, enhanced striving, and strengthened in-group ties. As for the other extropunitive behavioral modes (obsessive concern and suspicion, slyness and cunning, and prejudice against other groups), our data are susceptible of varying interpretations.

Conservative behavioral patterns fit somewhat better into the intropunitive category, although the rationale for this category—that the victim "tends, if not actually to blame himself, at least to take the responsibility upon himself for adjusting to the situation" (1, p. 160)—does not seem to apply very well. The intropunitive modes are: (1) denial of membership in own group; (2) withdrawal and passivity; (3) clowning; (4) self-hate; (5) in-group aggression; (6) sympathy with all victims; (7) symbolic status striving; and (8) neuroticism. The first is definitely not applicable to the Conservative case. The second, on the other hand, would be felt by many observers so adequately to encompass the situation that no further analysis of the problem would be necessary. Two cautions are in order. One is that the rationale by which Allport ascribes withdrawal and passivity to the intropunitive attitude does not seem to apply to the Conservatives. The second is that the Conservative phenomena which would be labeled as withdrawal and passivity are so entwined with the Harmony Ethic that it is impossible



to conclude that they are merely artifacts of victimization. That they may have been reinforced by victimization is another matter, and it must be considered further.

Clowning is not characteristic of Conservatives. It would, among other things, be considered to be offensive behavior in terms of the Harmony Ethic. The Conservatives' incorporation in their self-image of non-Indian pejorative attitudes toward their adaptive traits might be regarded as evidence of self-hatred. However, there is no strong evidence of the shame which generally accompanies self-hatred. Furthermore, the mechanism which is said to underlie self-hatred—the victim's attempt to identify himself with the victimizer (1, p. 151)—does not seem to apply.

In-group aggression does occur among the Conservatives. We can, however, equally well ascribe it to the characteristics of the Harmony Ethic as to victimization. Sympathy with other victims does not seem to apply except to the extent that there is Conservative interest in the Pan-Indian movement, and this extent does not seem to be very great. Symbolic status striving may well be an element in the Conservative insistence on maintaining Indian status. The problem remains, however, that the characteristics of the status at present include items whose positive role in establishing status is questionable in terms both of the aboriginally derived values system and the non-Indian values system.

That the Conservatives have massively retreated into neuroticism—specifically, that they have regressed to the oral dependent stage—is the thesis of one of the participants in the Cross-Cultural Laboratory, Charles H. Holzinger (19, p. 5). The present writer regards this interpretation as being an alternative, *in toto*, to the argument which is being pursued herein. He finds himself unable to incorporate the ramifications of the oral dependency theory with those of the theory that the Harmony Ethic continues to operate; and since he has accepted the latter theory, he must leave the former for another to present in his own way.

Allport (1, p. 161) points out that many objects of victimization display a blend of extropunitive and intropunitive behavioral modes. On this basis, might we not rearrange those extropunitive and intropunitive behavioral modes which are apparently exhibited by the Conservatives into a single diagnostic array and have done with the matter? We could, but this procedure

would still leave us with the problem of analyzing why some modes are extropunitive while others are intropunitive. Besides this, we have also to deal with phenomena which have diachronic cultural depth, and this cannot be done by means of Allport's formulation. While this formulation is very helpful in sharpening our focus on the Conservative situation, it does not seem to offer a final solution to our problem.

Another approach to the *raison d'être* of the Conservative adaptive traits is suggested in Allport's analysis of victimized groups. He points out (1, p. 159) that among them there is frequent occurrence of the process which R. K. Merton has called the "self-fulfilling prophecy." In this process an individual or group tends to behave in ways which he or it is expected to behave by the "others." This behavior has the effect of reinforcing the others' expectations, and so the mechanism tends to be self-perpetuating. One could indeed apply this idea very plausibly to the Conservative situation. It even accommodates the conception of the perpetuation of the Harmony Ethic, since there are so many congruences between the latter and the adaptive traits. It would seem highly probable, in fact, that the self-fulfilling prophecy *has* been a contributing factor in the situation. There is a serious objection, however, to accepting it as the final analysis: it does not explain why the Conservatives have resisted the exhortations and demonstrations intended to change their adaptive traits. These, too, represent expectations on the part of the others.

Still another approach is suggested by Leon Festinger's concept of "cognitive dissonance." This postulates that where a group feels itself utterly frustrated in the attempt to attain the status of others, it tends to diminish the value of the unattainable goals. This is frequently rationalized by the attitude that the unattainable goals are completely under external control. The effect of this attitude is to reduce the sense of dissonance and frustration (42, p. 175). A Conservative might conceivably express these feelings somewhat in this way, "The non-Indians can do anything; they've got all the money and all the power. I can't be a non-Indian, so why should I try? Let them do it all." If this theory did not depend on the existence of frustration in the attainment of others' standards, it might be a highly satisfactory analysis of the Conservative adaptive system. Unfortunately, however, there is no evidence that the Conservatives do feel frustrated in not being able to attain the standards of

non-Indians. Some observers feel that they do, but they have adduced no evidence in support of this, and one suspects that their feelings are largely their own projections in their attempts to empathize with the Conservatives. All things considered, the cognitive dissonance theory is probably more applicable to many of the Generalized Indians, rather than to the Conservatives.

Our last approach provides a clue which, when acted upon, seems to us to knit together the various loose ends which we have left dangling. This clue lies in the strong resemblance of the Conservative adaptive traits to the phenomena of social masochism as analyzed by Theodor Reik (34). Before proceeding any further, we must emphasize, first, that Reik's conception of generic masochism diverges in a very important manner from that of Freud and others, and that it is this very divergence which makes his conception appear to be applicable to the Conservative situation. Secondly, we are applying the concept of *social* masochism and not that of masochism as a sexual perversion. There is no evidence of the latter among the Conservatives, and in this connection Reik obliges us by pointing out that where one form of masochism is present, the other is most likely not to be (34, p. 294).

Reik's social masochism encompasses both behavior patterns and a view of the self and the social world generally which have arisen as the result of subjection or subordination, real or imagined. The most noticeable overt traits of social masochism are those which might be called submissive, docile, dependent, and ineffectual (34, p. 368). Ineffectual behavior, of course, reinforces the necessity of submitting to the other's will, or rather, of appearing to do so. Classical psychoanalytic theory takes the position that the conscious and unconscious motives of such behavior actually are directed against the self, that the individual's goal is to be subjected to, and be humiliated by, others. Reik's position (34, pp. 72-83 f) is that these overt traits are merely a mask or "demonstration" which covers feelings of aggression and hostility toward the *other*, not the self. Reik claims that other analysts have simply been deceived by these outward appearances and have ignored ample clinical evidence that in the fantasies and phraseologies of masochists, opposition to, rebellion against, and derision of the other is quite manifest. The function of the whole complex, it should be emphasized, is to preserve the integrity of the self, to enforce the will of the self against otherwise superordinate figures (34,

p. 156). In other words, "manifest submission" is a cover for "latent rebellion." (34, p. 163) The driving force of masochism "receives mighty support from the efforts of the ego to maintain itself against superior forces, to save its internal independence when it has to give up the external one." (34, p. 164) "In social masochism the instinctual aim is of an aggressive and violent nature, the satisfaction of sadistic tendencies, and the brutal assertion of one's own will." (34, p. 309) Owing to the social circumstances, this aim cannot be expressed directly, and is therefore expressed indirectly by what often appears to be its opposite, a camouflage of obvious utility. One of the ways in which this is done is by insistently demonstrating one's defects, inadequacies and sufferings (34, p. 313). "I assume this obstinate and willful demonstration is meant to conceal something . . . the reversal of the displayed . . . pride in one's own success, *joying in carrying through one's own will against superior forces.*" (34, p. 313, italics ours)

The present writer shares the opinion of many social scientists that one must be extremely wary of the psychoanalytic fondness for assuming, when convenient, and often without direct evidence, that A is really non-A, as illustrated in the last quotation above. This can, in fact, be one of those ambiguous quicksands to which we referred earlier. Now we appear to have become mired in spite of ourselves. Our position is that in the present instance, unlike the earlier one, there is evidence to support the hypothesis, though not to prove it, that Reik's social masochism is in operation.

It is quite difficult to conceive of any set of phenomena which could more effectively predispose a people toward social masochism as a form of aggression than the history of the Eastern Cherokees and the dynamics of the Harmony Ethic. It could also, of course, have led to complete and utter subjection, but this is not the case among the Conservatives, as our instances of defiance and resistance have shown.

The Harmony Ethic discourages direct aggression even as a reaction to illegitimate aggression (small children, interestingly enough, excepted). Aboriginally, the tensions thus produced were legitimately relieved in outward aggression. Subsequently, all means of direct outward aggression were eliminated by a technologically superior culture which took control of all external relationships of the Indians and attempted to impose its patterns on them. As far as the Cherokees generally were cor-



cerned, the Removal was a virtually classic masochistic event. It continues to loom large in the Conservatives' image of their society and how it came into being. Note, however, that the ancestors of the Eastern Cherokees defied the Removal. They resisted it, but they resisted it without direct aggression, by withdrawal in the literal sense. This, in itself, was consistent with the Harmony Ethic, as well, no doubt, as being necessitated by the circumstances. Yet the sequence and nature of the events conform to Reik's social masochism, and the image of the whole episode is firmly implanted in the Conservatives' minds.

So much for the historical dimension. In seeking to understand why the Conservative values system has been perpetuated, we have left unanswered the questions why the aboriginally derived trait-system has not been disintegrated by untrammelled internal aggression; why the Conservatives apparently see no compelling reasons for adapting the Harmony Ethic to the needs of economic and social competition; and why the Conservative self-image incorporates the adaptive traits and the pejorative attitudes of non-Indians toward these traits.

All three questions can be answered in terms of Reik's social masochism. The Conservative self-image includes the concept of their being a special people in an explicitly prideful sense, a characteristic of group social masochism which, incidentally, is noted by Reik (34, p. 258). In addition, it makes explicit the idea of the special people's being victimized, threatened with extinction, and looked down upon because of lack of economic success, domestic hygiene, and so on. This is a masochistic self-image. The last-mentioned components of it are existentially demonstrated by refusal to adopt the very behavioral practices which are being urged by the non-Indians. The more the non-Indians insist and exhort, the more adamant the resistance is likely to be. This resistance, plus the various items of resentment toward non-Indians which have been mentioned, is our best evidence for the existence and operation of the aggressive and self-willed factor in Reik's formulation. Thus, while the Conservatives may actually cherish only the specifically Indian aspects of their Indian status, they easily assimilate with it the adaptive traits because these are their only means of asserting their integrity.

Predisposed by historical events and the nature of residual aboriginal traits, the adaptive traits, by their very masochistic-



aggressive nature, provide the means of release of aggressive energies which would seem to be essential in preventing the aboriginally derived traits from succumbing to internal disintegration. Put in another way, the adaptive traits have, among other things, taken the place of the old War Organization as a channel of outward aggression. The aboriginally derived traits continually predispose the Conservatives to masochistic forms of aggression, and the latter provide the mechanism which is essential for the perpetuation of the aboriginally derived traits. However "truncated," "depressed," "regressed," or "dysfunctional" the Conservative values system as a whole may be interpreted as being, however incongruous some of its components may, on first inspection, appear to be, it is a values system which has undeniably maintained itself, amidst change, for 120 years.

### 5. THE SELF-CORRECTIVE CIRCUIT

Under the circumstances of military defeat and continued external pressures subsequent to it, the masochistic-aggressive pattern might be expected to occur in any case. Even in the case of the Conservatives, one might (as many people actually do) consider the adaptive traits alone as being characteristic of them, and interpret these traits in terms of one or another of the hypotheses which we have put forward. Our analysis has, however, been more elaborate because we have had to account for the perpetuation of the Harmony Ethic in tandem with the adaptive traits. This part of our argument has hinged on the assumption that the Harmony Ethic is not able, on its own, to contain the aggressive impulses which are engendered by living according to it, and yet that aggression is checked sufficiently so that the non-aggressive Ethic is maintained. If it were not for the release afforded by the adaptive traits, would the Harmony Ethic disintegrate because of excessive in-turned aggression? Our argument implies an affirmative answer.

Theoretical support for this position is provided by the concept of complementary and symmetrical schismogenesis which has been propounded by Gregory Bateson. Couched in terms of aggressive and non-aggressive behavior, this concept is admirably suited to our problem. The Conservative sanction of aggressive offense by withdrawal is an example of complementary schismogenesis: aggression is met with non-aggression. Aggression met with counter-aggression is symmetrical schismo-

genesis (2, pp. 176 *ff.*). Bateson's theory is that if either type of interaction continues unchecked, the social system will disintegrate completely. No such checks are apparent in the Harmony Ethic. Yet it has not disintegrated in spite of the fact that aggressive impulses, presumably as strong as they were aboriginally, no longer have institutionalized outlets. We have therefore searched outside the Harmony Ethic, but within the Conservative values system, for what Bateson (2, p. 289, *ff.*) calls a "self-corrective" mechanism in the schismogenetic process. We have found it in the masochistic-aggressive releases of the adaptive traits, and these complete a self-corrective circuit by means of which the Conservative values system is perpetuated.

Our efforts to perceive the functional relationships among a large number of disparate phenomena have led us to ignore one possibility which should at least be mentioned. This is that the Conservatives may well experience positive rewards in living, as best they can, according to the Harmony Ethic. We know that they have an intrinsic fondness for their mountain habitat, and they may well have it for their aboriginally derived cultural traits as well.

## CHAPTER X. THE CROSSROADS REVISITED

"In the dissimilarities among these people one perhaps senses that they are at a crossroads in more than the literal sense, that while they are together in one place and at one time, their ways of life are leading in different directions. What are these different directions? Whence do they come, and where do they lead? How divergent are they?" And so we return to the place from which we started.

The significance of the literal crossroads, the meeting of highways, need not be belabored. The industrial economy which made the highways possible has irrevocably reduced the conditions of physical and ecological isolation under which the culture of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians took form.

Figuratively, the Eastern Cherokees are at a crossroads in two senses. First, they have reacted differently to the reduction of their physical and ecological isolation; while some have sought to maintain as much isolation as they can, others, in various ways and to various degrees, have not. Second, the discontinuities in attitudes and activities which these different reactions have accentuated would seem to have reached a point

where consciously and carefully reasoned decisions appear to be necessary for the best interests of all.

Indicative of the various reactions to the reduction of isolation are the four sub-cultures or values systems which we have delineated. These are the different directions in which the Eastern Cherokee way of life is leading. We have shown whence these directions have come in the past. We have not been content with any such explanation as the fact that some people like to change faster than others. The issues are hardly that simple, and we have endeavored to make their complexity as explicit in detail as our knowledge permits us. Our knowledge, however, is most uneven. It is concentrated on the values system which we have called Conservative. It is quite meager in regard to the Generalized Indian, "Rural-White" Indian, and Middle Class Indian values systems and in regard to the interrelationships and transitional mechanisms between these values systems. As far as these transitions are concerned, we have been able to deal with only one of them, and only in a negative sense at that: we have supplied an answer to the question, "Why does a person who was raised as a Conservative remain a Conservative?"

Incomplete though our descriptions and analyses may be, they may nevertheless be sufficient to constitute the foundations of further analyses. This brings us to the matter of decisions.

Do our delineations of Conservatives, Generalized Indians, "Rural-White" Indians, and Middle Class Indians approximate reality in the eyes of Eastern Cherokees themselves? If, given inevitable modifications and provisos, they do, then the Eastern Cherokees can, on the basis of our findings, make some of their own analyses, and then some of their own decisions. For example, if our descriptive analysis of the Conservative values system is reasonably accurate, if it seems real or true to those closely involved, then, as we have suggested earlier, a person who was raised as a Conservative but who is now a Generalized Indian should be able to analyze for himself the processes by which he made the transition. The same is true for the other transitions, although we have been able to objectify far less material on the factors involved in them.

If informed self-analysis can be engendered, then rational decisions can be made. If, for example, a Conservative wants to make an achievement in business enterprise, precisely what adjustments must he make in his attitudes, values, and social

relationships? Is the goal worth the price of these adjustments? Only the individual himself can answer these questions and make the appropriate decisions. There is no formula which can be applied by rote. But there is knowledge from which the answers and decisions can be derived with a far clearer vision than is possible when self-understanding is beclouded.

Let us now revert to the note on which we ended Chapter IX: the possibility that the Conservatives find certain aspects of their way of life positively rewarding. If they cherish their distinctiveness, if they love their mountains enough not to want to leave them, if they enjoy their quiet, loosely organized social gatherings, should they not be left free to continue these ways? Surely there can be no answer but yes. Yet a counter-argument could be made that they are not morally free to perpetuate their adaptive traits since these can be shown to involve impositions on others' time, efforts, and funds. Furthermore, the ecological realities are such that pressures for change will continue to be made regardless of moral issues.

Therefore, if Conservatives decide that they wish to maintain certain of their distinctive ways, they must, it would seem, make some adjustments in them. How? We have conceptualized their total sub-culture as a functionally closed system or circuit. A change in one segment of the system would therefore entail other changes some of which might destroy the system entirely. The only possible escape from this dilemma would seem to consist of making certain deliberate changes simultaneously which would have the effect, not of destroying the system, but, as it were, re-wiring the circuit. These changes would seem to us to be three in number.

1. The Conservatives could divorce the adaptive traits from the definition of "Indianness" and the Indian self-image. In terms of culture history, they do not belong there anyway. If this were achieved, it would help to weaken the existing psychological necessity of maintaining these traits. It should be emphasized that non-Indians, who have been heavily responsible for perpetuating the identification of "Indianness" with the adaptive traits, must themselves make some attitudinal adjustments in this regard. They, and the Conservatives alike, can do this only if they can learn to perceive clearly what the truly Indian traits really are.
2. If our analysis in Chapter IX is correct, the first change



would not be feasible unless the pressures for aggressive release, now expended in the adaptive traits, were channeled in other directions. All things considered, these other channels would presumably be social situations which, normally, could be dissociated from the ordinary contexts of the Harmony Ethic. Precisely how this might be accomplished is not easy to say because there are several possibilities which could be experimented with and decided upon only by those directly involved. **One** type of possibility is an economic organization—a local cooperative, perhaps, or some sort of coordinating agency of Conservative economic efforts away from the local scene, in any case, an organization in whose operations the Conservatives could derive a sense of satisfaction from competing with non-Conservatives.

It is neither culturally nor psychologically fantastic to envisage Conservatives literally sallying forth from their mountains, seasonally or on a longer term basis, in a well organized and concerted fashion, while maintaining the Harmony Ethic at home. Such situationally dissociated behavior was precisely that which aboriginally characterized the White and Red Organizations.

3. There is, however, one difference. Whether on a war party or working in the town fields, the aboriginal Cherokee had to make no adjustments in his attitudes toward competition and open disagreement; namely, he did not have to cope with the notion that both implied conflict which, in turn, implied hostility. If change number two were to be accomplished, there would have to be a modification in the Conservative definition of competitiveness as necessarily implying hostile aggressiveness. Such a modification would probably eventuate in alterations in the practices of the Harmony Ethic, but not necessarily in its dissolution.

In outlining these possible changes we are absolutely not proposing a formula for the solution of problems. We are simply following through the reasoning which, given our understandings of the present cultural situation, those more immediately involved would have to approximate in working out their own solutions. Given the rationale, there would have to be flexibility for experimentation.

Deliberately planned and reasoned changes of the type we en-



visage can be made *only by the Conservatives themselves*. They cannot be imposed by others. Such imposition has been attempted in a number of ways, and none of the attempts has succeeded very well. One reason for the failure is the resistance of Conservatives to anything they perceive as being outside interference. We have attempted to account for this type of reaction. Another reason is that the well intended attempts to impose changes have been made with only a very imperfect understanding of Conservative attitudes and motivations.

If there is resistance to any innovation suggested from the outside, would not the suggestions being made herein also be resisted? Yes, especially if some version of our notions of "re-wiring the circuit" were presented in the form of a short-term, high-pressure reorientation and demonstration program. The communication must necessarily be slow. Formal education, over a number of years, could contribute in a very important way to the process, *only*, however, if it itself had been reoriented in terms of cross-cultural analysis.

The means by which the Eastern Cherokees may decide to work out solutions to what they see as their most pressing problems are their responsibility.

We hope that to some extent the ideas and findings presented in this monograph may be helpful to them in this task. In any event, we have now carried as far as we can our task of describing and analyzing their cultural situation.

## EPILOGUE



# EPILOGUE: CHEROKEES AT THE CROSSROADS, 1973

BY

SHARLOTTE NEELY WILLIAMS

## I. A NEW CROSSROADS

It was late afternoon when we drove onto the Qualla Boundary along narrow, twisting Highway 19 from Asheville. It was Monday, June 5, 1972 and an historic day for the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. One hundred and thirty-four years before, the Eastern Band had been created out of Cherokees who had hidden in the mountain coves of the southern Appalachians when soldiers came to round them up and herd them west to Indian Territory. The descendants of those refugees were to meet in general council, the first since the removal of 1838, to decide whether or not to accept compensation for lands permanently lost to whites. The Eastern Band had arrived at another crossroads, the kind John Gulick describes; and on the night of June 5, it would choose one road over the others. That was why we had journeyed to Cherokee. The general council was symbolic of the Eastern Band thirteen years after Gulick's study.

The scene that night at the Mountainside Theatre belied the importance of the moment: the council began late, not half the theatre was filled, and almost every one avoided the forward-most section of seventeen rows. Cherokee adults carried on light conversation while the children played on the sidelines. A few whites were there as spouses or children of Band members, as reporters and photographers, as lawyers, as anthropologist, and even as tourists who had wandered in by accident. At the bottom of the Mountainside Theatre, in the stage area, sat about half a dozen Cherokees and whites, their facial features impossible to distinguish from the distance of the highest rows. At the start of the meeting, a brief election chose three individuals — the General Council Chairman, Secretary, and Interpreter — to add to the Band's Vice Chief, the white Agency Superintendent, and two white lawyers already seated at the table.

Because only a minority of those present had yet to receive copies of the lawyers' analysis of the situation, questions from the audience lasted about an hour and a half. Most questions were rather mildly put, although some remarks could be loud

and forceful — as when one woman accused the lawyers of taking a big chunk of the land claims money for themselves — or when a young man urged that land, not money, be returned to the Cherokees. This latter comment received a round of applause. But another comment received even greater applause, and that was that the money (\$1,855,254.50) be accepted and divided individually (less than \$300 apiece) rather than be pooled for any common goal (see p. 9, Chapter I of this volume, for a discussion of the same problem of individual ownership *vs.* collectivity). When the voting was over, the money offered by the Federal Government had been accepted: \$1.10 an acre for that portion of the twenty-five million acres of Cherokee lands in the Carolinas, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Kentucky (but not the Virginias) owned by the ancestors of the Eastern, not the numerically larger Western, Band of Cherokee Indians and ceded to the United States in treaties dating from 1785 to the Removal Treaty of New Echota in 1835.

Many of the comments which could have brought more of a dramatic climax to the proceedings were never voiced: no mention was made of whether or not the treaties had been legal, no mention was made of the 1830's Supreme Court ruling in favor of the Cherokee Nation which had implied that removal was illegal, no mention was made of the hardships and deaths brought to both those Cherokees removed and those who escaped removal, and no mention was made of the situation in the late nineteenth century when Cherokees in North Carolina had to re-purchase their own lands, not once, but twice, because their right to own land was not recognized by the state. But perhaps these comments would have had to be made by Red Power advocates, who are not numerous among the Eastern Band. (The Band recently officially disapproved of the occupation by Red Power Indians of the Bureau of Indian Affairs offices in Washington, D. C. [*Cherokee One Feather* 1972: 5:45:1].)

If this crossroads had been arrived at a few years later, maybe the above protests would have been voiced, or maybe the comment actually voiced about returning Cherokee lands would have been taken completely seriously and fought for. And what if this crossroads had been arrived at earlier, in the 1930's or 1940's? Then, some Cherokees urged that their native language not be taught their children; and perhaps the opening and closing prayers in Cherokee and the position of interpreter (a position



recently abolished in Tribal Council because nearly everyone speaks English) would have been omitted from the meeting. However, in 1972, they were present as symbols of Cherokeeanness and Indianness.

Perhaps the general council meeting is illustrative of the identity crossroads the Eastern Band has frequently confronted. Some individuals have chosen the road that leads them away from being Cherokee Indians and toward being "real Americans," and others have tried to take the road that keeps them "real Indians" (some of the Conservatives described by Gulick and, almost paradoxically, Red Power advocates). But the Cherokees as a group have frequently chosen neither of these two roads. Instead, they have tried to cut out a road where none exists, and they maintain their two primary identities of Americanness and Cherokee Indianness at once. These words from a history of the Eastern Band, written by a Band member, are illustrative:

No people has ever struggled more patiently and silently than the Cherokees have since the removal to prove their worth as a people and as real Americans. They have endured hardships that only a Cherokee could have endured . . . it took special Congressional legislation to make them citizens in 1928, to make them citizens of their own country, a large part of which they owned before the white man ever set foot on its shores (Owl 1929: 174).

In some ways, the problem of Indian identity makes life easier and in some ways more difficult. An article in the Band's newspaper describing the Fall Festival (called a "fair" in the 1950's because it then more closely approximated a white county fair) is illustrative:

The old fair has become a festival, and "festival" means "sharing, celebration, and ceremony" . . .

The major attractions at the fall festival were ethnic: Indian customs, culture and self-image.

Perhaps one bumper sticker summed it up: "Brothers, rejoice! It's in to be Indian!" (*Cherokee One Feather* 1972:5:39:3)

That same issue of the *One Feather* ran as its lead article "Nixon Administration Slashes BIA Budget," a critical article distributed by the American Indian Press Association (*Cherokee One Feather* 1972:5:39:1;4).

Reprints of pro-Indian articles in the *One Feather* from *Akwesasne Notes*, a radical Red Power newspaper distributed by Mohawk Indians, are also becoming more frequent. Recently, about Columbus Day 1972, the *One Feather* ran as its headline

article an anti-Columbus editorial from *Akwesasne Notes* which read in part:

For centuries now and right up to the present day, native peoples on this land have conducted a heroic struggle to defend their homes, their people, and all things of the creation against forces of death and destruction. . . .

Can American youngsters ever lose racist attitudes as long as their nation and their schools celebrate "Columbus Day?" He is European—and he is white. History can only say that he set into motion a massive migration of Europeans to North America. History can add that he was also a trader in Indian slaves. . . .

The continuation of that celebration is a racist insult. It is symbolic of a cancerous attitude that must be excised. (*Cherokee One Feather* 1972:5:40:1)

But Indian festivals and condemnations of Columbus Day are not the only "in" activities since Red Power. Many Indian communities have criticized anthropologists for their callous approach to Native American studies. Sioux Indian Vine Deloria, Jr. (1970) uses an entire chapter of his best-seller, *Custer Died for Your Sins*, to criticize anthropologists. Much of the Indian attack on anthropologists has been directed at archeologists, for both the manner in which Indian sites are excavated and the way in which retrieved artifacts are displayed in museums. The Eastern Band has recently added to these criticisms of archeologists with complaints launched against the University of Tennessee Anthropology Department's excavation near Fort Loudon and the eighteenth-century Cherokee site of Chota on the Little Tennessee River which will soon be flooded by the Tennessee Valley Authority (*Cherokee One Feather* 1972:5:36:1). Criticisms are not only directed against the Federal Government for flooding the historic site, but also against the archeologists for opening Indian graves:

I wonder what the top people in TVA would do if they were to catch a crew of men from the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians digging up their parents and ancestors? They would probably call them a robbing group of savages and they would be tried in a white man's court. The Cherokees have been kicked around since the white man first set foot on our land now it seems that our people cannot die and rest in peace. (*Cherokee One Feather* 1972:5:36:1)

Perhaps nowhere else is the Cherokees' dilemma in defining their Indian identity more apparent than in their view of archeologists. Only a year before the above condemnation of archeologists appeared in the *One Feather*, another article in the same newspaper referred favorably to the same University of Tennessee Anthropology Department's excavations in the Little Tennessee River Valley. In that excavation, Chota was also being

excavated (*Cherokee One Feather* 1971:4:24:1). But at that excavation the archeologists were assisted by seven Cherokee boys sponsored by the Cherokee Historical Association (however, in no way officially affiliated with the Band) and transported there by the Cherokee Boys Club. Several people and organizations, including the University of Tennessee Anthropology Department, were thanked in the *One Feather* for being "very cooperative in getting this project into operation" and for "making this program possible" (*Cherokee One Feather* 1971:4:24:1). Why the change in attitude? Because being Indian was more "in" a year later? Or, perhaps because, as the movement for Indian identity gathers more strength, the Cherokees do not feel any less American in vigorously protesting the gripes they have as Cherokee Indians. That the Eastern Cherokees do seem to be becoming part of the movement for Indian identity conflicts with Kupferer's (1968) prediction that the Cherokees would abstain from participation in an "Indian renaissance." The Cherokees have merely been slow to participate.

But as the economic problem of the Cherokees' land claims settlement demonstrates, the Eastern Band is still cautiously seeking a path through an identity crossroads. The Cherokees are an adaptive people, conscious of how to survive. They do survive and with as much dignity and identity as the times and circumstances allow. Missionaries, teachers, government employees, historians, and anthropologists have for over one hundred and fifty years all predicted the Cherokees' disappearance as a distinct ethnic group. The problem with the prediction is that it never comes true. Students of the Cherokees tend to confuse adaptation and assimilation with disappearance. With the recent continent-wide movement for Indian identity, it is becoming apparent to many for the first time, even to some Cherokees for the first time, that assimilation tells only part of the Cherokee story. When confronted with new crossroads, the Cherokees may choose a road which leads them into new identities, as one road in the nineteenth century led them firmly toward Americanness; but they never seem to choose roads which lead them away from the old identity of Cherokeeeness.

New crossroads are continually confronting the Cherokees. Crossroads confronted during the time of the fieldwork reported in this book have in part determined which crossroads the Cherokees are confronted with now. This is one of the great values

of this book. The most important change since that fieldwork is probably the intensified movement for Indian identity which has compelled scholars to view new aspects of native American history and culture. In the Cherokees' case, the movement will bring to light a better understanding of all the crossroads with which the Cherokees have been and are confronted.

## II. CHANGES AND DEVELOPMENTS FROM 1960 TO 1973

Because both economic and education patterns are prominent problems cited by the Cherokees themselves as areas of concern, emphasis will be given here to these two aspects of Cherokee culture although other changes will also be discussed.

### A. *The Economic Picture*

Documents at the East Point Federal Records Center in Georgia indicate that in 1958 the Superintendent of the Eastern Cherokee Agency wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to request more economic aid for the Cherokees. The letter used harsh terms to paint a depressing picture of the area as an "island of poverty" and a "deteriorating society" where there was "dire need" and "much actual hunger." Did the Superintendent use such severe words merely to gain the sympathy of the Commissioner? No one can be sure. Two things seem certain, however. They are that economic conditions have been steadily improving for the Cherokees since the Superintendent's letter was written, but that Cherokee economic conditions still lag behind those of most Americans.

Some economic improvements are statistically impressive as, for example, the fact that in the 1950's, nearly 90% of Cherokee housing was substandard, whereas in 1972 less than 60% was (*Cherokee Progress and Challenge* 1972:47). Other economic advances are visually impressive. New vacation attractions like Santa Land, which makes Christmas a summer event for many a vacationing child, and Frontier Land, where cowboys and soldiers battle real Indians, mean more tourist money for the area. New campgrounds like the privately-leased Big Cove Kampground of America, a major vacationing attraction in what was once a remote reservation area, and the tribal-operated Mingo Falls Campground are both further examples of the increase in tourist dollars. In fact, tourist enterprises, still the center of Cherokee



economy, now number 168, two-thirds of which are owned by Cherokees (*Cherokee Progress and Challenge* 1972:35).

But major problems still persist for an economy based on tourism. The tourist industry is still seasonal (in the summer), and ideas for winter attractions like a ski resort are only in the planning stages. Unemployment, which drops to only 1% in the summer, soars to nearly 20% the rest of the year (*Cherokee Progress and Challenge* 1972:33-34). In addition, salaries connected with tourism are low, making the average yearly income for most Cherokees only 60% of the national average (*Cherokee Progress and Challenge* 1972:33-34). Gulick's figures for the 1950's indicate that the average yearly income for Cherokees then was less than 20% of the national average (pp. 18-19), showing that some progress has been made. Most Cherokee families, however, still need to have more than one family member employed in order to make ends meet. Another disadvantageous feature of the tourist economy is that although only one-third of tourist enterprises are operated by non-Cherokees, these comprise all the largest money-making operations (*Cherokee Progress and Challenge* 1972:35). Perhaps the greatest threat of a tourist economy, however, is the disaster it would bring to the tribe if a serious national economic recession or depression were to occur. If such were to happen, vacationing would become a luxury many Americans would have to curtail, and for the Cherokees this would mean a decrease in tourists and tourists' money. Perhaps this is another reason for basing more of the Cherokee economy on non-tourism.

Non-tourism light industries have expanded over the last thirteen years, though not bringing anything close to complete economic security to the Cherokees. In 1957, only fifty-seven Cherokees were employed in two light industries located on the reservation (p. 24). Today, three light industries on the reservation — Saddlecraft, associated with the tourist trade through its manufacture of souvenir products, White Shield quilting operations, and Vassar hair accessories — together employ nearly four hundred Cherokees with another one hundred in similar plants within commuting distance of the reservation (*Cherokee Progress and Challenge* 1972:37). But these industries employ more women (75% of the companies' labor force) than men, thus not really helping to solve male unemployment (*Cherokee Progress and Challenge* 1972:37). In addition, the closing



of a Graham County carpet factory, one of the county's two main industries, has created "major unemployment" for Cherokees in the Snowbird Township (*Cherokee Progress and Challenge* 1972:37). A new furniture plant in Graham County has not significantly improved Cherokee employment there. Even a small, tribal-backed, cut-and-sew operation for Snowbird women (which made hospital gowns for sale) was closed down.

And so it goes. Economic advances are accompanied by economic difficulties. For example, new jobs recently created in education have opened up as many new positions as a new light industry's locating on the reservation would have brought. But as strides are being made in educational employment, other economic endeavors are becoming less viable. For example, Cherokees are able to depend on farming to an even smaller degree than in the 1950's. Gulick estimates that in the 1950's "about 10 percent of the people today are estimated to support themselves exclusively by farming" (p. 22). In 1973, even that 10% has disappeared: "Today it cannot be said that there is a single full-time Cherokee farm family which receives its sole livelihood from that source" (*Cherokee Progress and Challenge* 1972:39). But, again, as farming declines, other economic endeavors improve. Construction work, for example, has boomed. This is attributable to the many new houses financed by Federal loans, new tourist enterprises, the new high school, and the recently completed Civic Center. But the economic situation is precarious, and a boom in construction work one year can be followed by inactivity the next.

The tribe as a unit seems more prosperous. In 1956, levies on businesses on leased land, a sales levy, and timber stumpage receipts operated as a form of revenue to bring in only \$14,406 (p. 10), whereas in 1971 they brought in \$186,864. In addition, tribal funds deposited with the Federal Government today total almost \$300,000, whereas in 1953 only \$39,000 was on deposit (*Cherokee Progress and Challenge* 1972:10-11). Perhaps, then, even with their continuing financial disadvantages, anthropologist Harriet Jane Kupferer is correct in citing the Cherokees' steady economic growth as the most significant change on the reservation since 1960. She noted for the 1960's that "currents of change are coursing through Cherokee. The most striking of these are in the economic base of the tribe," and "without doubt the economic base of the Eastern Cherokee is much sturdier than it was in 1950-60" (Kupferer 1966:317,320).

*B. Educational Changes*

Not only because the Cherokees themselves have singled out education as a significant problem, but also because so much has changed in Cherokee schools since 1960, educational changes should also be given considerable attention here. The most obvious tangible change has been the consolidation of the various township schools into the one Cherokee Elementary School, with the exception of the Snowbird Day School whose students were absorbed into the Graham County public schools (see p. 8). More significant changes in local schools did not occur, however, until the late 1960's. These changes corresponded in time to Red Power and other Native American movements which have called for Indians to seize control of their own fate. Whether these changes at Cherokee are in any way the result of the Native American movement is difficult to evaluate. A key element in educational changes at Cherokee, however, has centered on teaching the Cherokee language and Cherokee history in the schools. Eidheim (1968:207) has specifically singled out the teaching of native language and history in the schools as a key issue in the Lappish movement, a phenomenon in Norway which shares many common elements with the Native American movement in the United States and Canada.

The changes which are now occurring in Cherokee schooling may mark the beginning of a new era of education there. Funds have recently been appropriated by Congress and eighty acres of land donated by the Tribal Council to erect a new multi-million dollar Cherokee Junior-Senior High School. New educational projects include a residential psychologist, a counselor, a speech and hearing clinic staffed with a therapist, four special education classes with a teacher and para-professionals for each, and one science and mathematics resource classroom for the elementary school and one for the high school.

The innovative Headstart and Follow Through programs which have operated on the reservation for the past few years are, however, the best indicators of the beginning of a new era of Cherokee education. Unlike previous eras, this new era does not begin with a different educational administration, nor do its most innovative programs affect the entire school system but only children from ages two through eight; but its radically different teaching methods may warrant labeling the present

period as the beginning of a completely new era of Cherokee education.

Cherokee Follow Through is an advanced educational program. It features small, well-staffed, well-equipped classes where even kindergarten students become familiar with concepts which in many schools are not taught until high school. Follow Through began on the reservation in 1969 when the University of Arkansas contracted to offer the Prescriptive Teaching Model. In 1970 a contract was made with the University of Oregon to provide the Inglemann-Becker Model. The program is presently assisted by a team of educators from the University of Oregon who hold advisory meetings with the program's teachers. Like the upper elementary grades, the Follow Through program has its own director who works under the elementary school principal. All elementary and high school grades are administered by the community-elected Cherokee Advisory School Board, formerly the Cherokee Education Committee. Playing a crucial role in the decision-making of Follow Through is the Policy Advisory Committee (P.A.C.), 70% of which is composed of parents from the Cherokee community. The P.A.C. has some real powers, as this excerpt from their by-laws indicates:

The Follow Through P.A.C. shall have both the right and responsibility to share in determining the nature of their children's education. The P.A.C. shall take an active role in all aspects of the Follow Through Program. . . . The powers, property, funds and affairs of the Follow Through Program except as may be otherwise provided by law, Tribal Council, or Bureau of Indian Affairs, shall be vested in, exercised and controlled by the Policy Advisory Committee.

The decision-making power that Cherokee parents have, through P.A.C., over the schools contrasts with previous eras of education when the administration of schools was totally in the hands of non-Indians.

According to the statistics of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for 1969, over 250 students attended Cherokee Elementary School in what are now the Follow Through grades (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1969:27). Classroom experiences for these five, six, seven, and eight-year-olds are considerably different from what previous eras of education offered. During the early Federal era, Owl (1929:156) complained of the small number of Cherokee teachers, and for the modern era Gulick complained of the problems caused by students and teachers coming from divergent cultural backgrounds (p. 102). Follow Through has made significant changes in that situation. Although most of the teachers

are still Anglo-Americans, each teacher is assisted by two para-professionals whose qualifications include their being high school graduates and parents of children in the Follow Through program. This second qualification insures that most of these aides are Cherokees. The role of the para-professionals in the classroom is almost indistinguishable from the teacher's role (*Grade Teacher* 1969:87:4:54-55).

Follow Through classes are held in large, well-lighted, well-ventilated rooms. Many of the rooms are carpeted, which encourages rambunctious floor activities that are frequently interspersed with lessons. Alternation between play and lessons accommodates the short attention spans characteristic of small children. Surrounding the little child-sized tables and chairs are posters with health or educational themes — almost all of which picture Indian children as well as white. Along the school's halls are paintings of Cherokee themes such as Eagle Dancers, Sequoyah with his syllabary, and, in the library, the Great Seal of the Cherokee Nation. About half the dolls with which the little girls play also bear Indian features. The Indian dolls and pictures of Indian children probably help the students to achieve a more satisfactory identification as Native Americans than they would if all their models were white. Also important in the children's achieving a satisfactory cultural identification is the presence of the Indian instructors.

Most instructors are women, but a few are men. Although it was considered impractical at first, the para-professionals learned Follow Through teaching methods and now instruct the students in a capacity similar to the teachers'. With a teacher and two para-professionals to a classroom, it is possible to divide each class into three groups of students: the rapid learners, called "eagles"; the average learners, called "deer"; and the slower learners, called "bears." The animal names not only have connections with native wildlife, but with animals common in Cherokee myths and, in the case of the "deer," with a Cherokee clan. The use of animal names also avoids applying terms like "advanced" and "below average" which potentially embarrass some students and create a competitive situation, difficult conditions for many children.

The kindergarten program is especially impressive. Rather than remaining under one teacher's supervision for the entire day, the students change classes, a "feat" that in most school



systems is put off until high school. The kindergarten teachers and their aides usually specialize in one of the four courses offered to the five-year-olds: reading, language, arithmetic, or activities. The children daily go from room to room until they have had classes in each of the four courses. Within each class the teacher and the two para-professionals divide the students into eagles, deer, and bears. Each instructor takes one group which is separated from the other two by movable partitions. Groups may contain as few as four children or as many as eleven, but six to eight children to a group is usual. Because each teacher and each para-professional has a group, the para-professionals thus have equal instructing roles with the teachers. This allows the children to observe both whites and Indians in positions of authority in the classroom, a situation which probably aids the children in making a satisfactory identification as Indians.

Activities classes are the most adaptable. Art, music, or dancing can occupy a class period, or, more frequently, activities classes offer an opportunity to emphasize some aspect of Cherokee culture. Cherokee history, folklore, music, or crafts may be taught. When beadworking is taught, a group of Cherokee beadworkers from the local community is invited to come instruct the children. Each woman teaches a tableful of children the difference between seed, pony, and crow beads, and how to work the beads into necklaces and bracelets.

Activities classes regularly offer instruction in the Cherokee language to all students in the Follow Through Program. There are even tentative plans for teaching the children to write Cherokee in Sequoyah's syllabary when they are older. The instructor, who has full teaching status, is a Cherokee man. A typical class knows how to count to thirty, name numerous plants and animals, sing "What a Friend We Have in Jesus," and converse a little, all in Cherokee. Not more than half of the students knew any Cherokee when they entered school, and many of the supposedly Cherokee-speaking children knew only a word or two in Cherokee. As one member of the Cherokee community explained, it is not important for the children to speak Cherokee in order to communicate — almost everyone on the reservation speaks English — but it is a great source of pride for everyone to know a few expressions in Cherokee. Adult classes in Cherokee have also developed, and periodically there is a Cherokee language column in the newspaper. The Follow Through Cherokee classes



frequently include some Cherokee folktales and music. In one class a little boy danced the Rabbit Dance while the instructor drummed. Later, the story of "The Wolf and the Cardinal" was told. (It closely resembled Mooney's [1900:289] "How the Red-bird Got His Color.") In no other subject is the importance the Cherokee place on their heritage more evident. Teaching Cherokee in the schools is part of a community-wide renewed pride in Cherokee culture. Teaching Cherokee in the schools today thus marks a radical change in educational policy and contrasts with the earlier eras of Cherokee education when white teachers beat Indian children for speaking Cherokee and, later, when the Cherokee themselves resisted efforts to teach the language. The present instructor was one of those beaten as a child for daring to speak Cherokee at school.

Another of the radical changes is the larger number of Indian instructors throughout every area of the Follow Through program and the Indian-dominated P.A.C. control of the program. One of the most significant changes in Cherokee schools, however, has occurred in teaching methods themselves. Much of the instruction time in Follow Through classes is spent in group response. There is very little singling out of children, and this eliminates competitive as well as embarrassing situations, conditions often described for Indian schools (Wax et al. 1964:94-97). According to Grant (1957:143), Gulick (1958:77), Kutsche (1964:5) and Kupferer (1966:300), who all did their studies at Cherokee during the 1950's, Conservative Cherokee children were especially withdrawn, dependent, and non-competitive. As Kutsche (1964:5) described: "They resist competition in schools even when the stimulus to compete is as mild as a teacher's suggestion that 'The first child to get the answer please raise his hand.'" The less stressful group response method now employed in Follow Through should help Conservative children in adapting to school. American educational programs like Follow Through are probably, as Spindler (1963:136-137) suggests, indicative of changing value systems (from "Traditional" to "Emergent") throughout the United States, which put less emphasis on the ideals of the Protestant Ethic and more on group-focused ideals that in many ways resemble the Harmony Ethic of the Conservative Cherokees as described by Kupferer (1966:289-309).

Follow Through is a new and innovative program that differs radically from previous eras of Cherokee education. A key

element in the success of the program is the presence of Cherokee instructors in the classroom and the presence of Cherokee administrators on the Policy Advisory Committee and the Advisory School Board. Although the Advisory School Board functions over the entire reservation school system, the P.A.C. and the presence of Cherokee instructors in the classroom are limited to educating the very young children. If this expansion of the involvement of the Cherokees in their own schools has any overt failures in the eyes of the Cherokee community, it is that these new educational policies have not been expanded to the upper elementary grades and the high school where white teachers continue to dominate. Of over 90 instructors with full teaching status only eight are Native Americans, and of those only two are Cherokees. The rest are white (*Akwesasne Notes* 3:2:32).

### C. Other Changes

Many obvious changes have occurred at Cherokee since 1960 besides those directly related to the economy and education. Like the new tourist attractions, many of these changes are visual. The large, yellow Civic Center, complete with totem pole, now stands near the east bank of the Oconaluftee River. Completed in 1970, the "multi-service neighborhood facility center" houses a gymnasium, the Cherokee Community Library, the Agricultural Extension Program, and other such service organizations and facilities (*Cherokee Progress and Challenge* 1972:21). The Center is symbolic of the building boom at Cherokee that will soon culminate in the new Cherokee High School and, it is hoped, a hospital addition. A modernistic Catholic Church now stands on a hillside along Highway 441 in Cherokee where none existed in the 1960's (p. 36). As mentioned earlier, the building boom has even spread into Big Cove where numerous campgrounds have brought hundreds of tourists into what was the most isolated area of the reservation (pp. 32-34). The building of private homes has soared since the creation of the Qualla Housing Authority in 1962 and low-cost Federal loans. Since 1965, over four hundred houses have been built, or significantly improved, on the reservation. Added to the older tribal enterprises including the Boundary Tree Lodge, Restaurant, and Gas Station (p. 10), are the new water and sewer enterprise to expand those facilities, and a fish management enterprise which includes Mingo Falls Campground (*Cherokee Progress and Challenge*

1972:14-20). Other new developments include an improvement of intra-tribal, and even inter-tribal communication through the creation in the mid-1960's of a tribal-backed newspaper, *The Cherokee One Feather*.

As with other aspects of Cherokee society, improvements are tempered by problems and setbacks. For example, despite monumental accomplishments like the building of the new Civic Center, real poverty still exists among the members of the Eastern Band. Health problems like diabetes and alcoholism persist (p. 78). Despite the land claims settlement with the Federal Government, land problems still plague the Eastern Band. Gulick (pp. 8-9) writes of the 1950's that "one of the stated major projects of the current (1959) Council is an accurate survey of holdings and the formulation of an effective land code." But more than a dozen years later, the same land problems persist, as this illustrates:

Two major problems exist in relation to land activities. First, far too many possessory holdings yet remain to be surveyed and over 400 applications are now pending. Also, a land code is urgently needed to deal with the overall situation more fairly and efficiently, and so that final decisions can be made that will permanently settle what have been recurring problems (*Cherokee Progress and Challenge* 1972:9).

A review of the thirteen years since 1960 would be incomplete without some reference to changes in Cherokee social structure. Despite a surge of Native American identity, assimilation continues to operate among the Cherokees. For example, the *gadugis* (or Free Labor Companies), supposedly remnants of the aboriginal white, or peace, organization of the tribe, are disappearing from the lives of Conservative Cherokees (pp. 88-94). While for non-Conservatives, the same eight community development clubs are thriving (pp. 10-11, 120-121), Snowbird even winning the championship for 1971 in the Western North Carolina Community Development Program contest (*Cherokee One Feather* 1971:4:47:1).

One major aspect of Gulick's work has been reinterpreted, however, and that concerns Cherokee values systems. Whether this new view of Cherokee values systems marks an actual change in the structure of these systems, or merely a new interpretation of them, is impossible to determine. Whether or not there has been a shift in Cherokee values since 1960, there has been a re-ordering of them by Kupferer (1966:289-317), also a participant in the Cross-Cultural Laboratory. She suggests that the

Thomas Continuum which outlines four value systems — Conservative, Generalized, Rural-White, and Middle Class Indians — be compacted to two: Conservative and Modern Indian. These she more frequently terms, respectively, the Harmony Ethic and Protestant Ethic (Kupferer 1966:127-153). In her system, Generalized Indian, Rural-White, and Middle Class Indian are social classes within the cultural subgrouping of Modern Indian. Conservative Indian constitutes the other cultural subgrouping. Gulick has accurately pointed out the crossroads between retention of Cherokee traits (as manifested in a Conservative subgrouping) and assimilation of white, Euro-american traits (as manifested in a Modern subgrouping) that face the Eastern Band. How the Cherokees have maintained themselves as a viable group when continuously faced with such dichotomies and crossroads has yet to be fully analyzed.

In conclusion, as the above information illustrates, there are several reasons for a reprinting of *Cherokees at the Crossroads* more than a decade after its first publication. With time, this book has come to represent a history of the Eastern Cherokees during the 1950's, but not a dead history of isolated circumstances with no influence on the present and future. As its title implies, each choice at one set of crossroads determines what the next set of crossroads and next set of choices will be. In some cases, crossroads faced in the 1950's are still being faced today, and a road is yet to be chosen. If some approaches to the data are lacking in this book, they are no more numerous than the limitations which necessity sets on any book about a people. Thirteen years later, *Crossroads* is still valuable reading.

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## APPENDIX



THE CROSS-CULTURAL LABORATORY OF THE  
INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE  
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Early in 1955, the Institute for Research in Social Science submitted to the Ford Foundation a series of proposals in request for funds in support of expanded or new facilities in behavioral science research. The submission of these proposals was in consequence of a survey of behavioral science facilities and needs at the University, which was sponsored by the Ford Foundation during 1953-54.

One of the proposals which the Foundation undertook to support in the Spring of 1955, was one for the establishment of a Cross-Cultural Laboratory whose work would be concentrated at the Cherokee Indian Reservation in western North Carolina. In September 1955, John Gulick, an anthropologist, took charge of the Laboratory; and after preliminary reconnaissance, systematic field work at Cherokee was carried out under his direction from June, 1956, through August, 1958. This was in accordance with the conditions of the grant which was for a period of three years.

It should be clearly understood that the Laboratory was established as part of a state university and that therefore its purposes basically reflect certain purposes of the larger institution in particular:

1. The training of students, in this case the training of graduate students for professional careers in the behavioral sciences.
2. Service to the State in preserving, disseminating and, through research, expanding knowledge in general and knowledge of the State itself in particular, and in this case, an expansion of behavioral science knowledge, which can also become general knowledge, of a small but widely known segment of the population of North Carolina.

In keeping with the first purpose, those who did the field work at Cherokee were (with only a couple of exceptions) candidates for advanced academic degrees, their field work being one of their degree requirements. The relative professional inexperience of the field workers as a whole very possibly resulted in a greater number of fumbles, missteps, lines of investigation attempted but not followed through, etc., than might have been

forthcoming from a more experienced group. Yet this is not certain. The type of field work (see below) which was employed involves the investigator in a network of interpersonal relations which are as liable to unpredictable, unavoidable problems as are those of "everyday life."

We cannot be sure that the second purpose of the Laboratory could have been more fully achieved, at least under the same budgetary conditions, if it had been set up purely as a research organization and not also as a student-training organization. While certain topics which the director originally hoped would be covered by research have not been so, several areas of investigation which he had not specifically planned, have been developed, and these may well be of more value than those which he originally had in mind.

One reason for establishing a research project of several years duration on the Cherokee Reservation was that it was a relatively convenient location for students in anthropology at the University of North Carolina, for whose benefit the Laboratory was primarily, though not entirely, designed, in which they could study at first hand, as they are required, cultural patterns different from their own. Secondly, it was hoped that by concentrating on the same relatively small population from somewhat different points of view, certain issues in behavioral science theory could be fruitfully explored and, at the same time, a deeper understanding of the Eastern Cherokees gained. Thirdly, a coordinated body of extensive and intensive behavioral science information on the contemporary Eastern Cherokees was not in existence in 1955 and was therefore needed.

Some comment on each of these reasons is in order.

1. Anthropological field work calls for "participant observation" on the part of the investigator. He lives among the people whom he is studying and participates in their existence as much as they will permit him. Since his purpose is to study people whose way of life is different from his own, he can come to understand it only if he places himself in contact with it under all possible circumstances. This method usually results in very close and frequent contacts with certain people but not with others and it is likely to contrast with the social survey method which, despite the superficiality of its material, has the advantage of contacting large numbers of people in a standardized fashion. The participant ob-



server technique requires a long time for the production of scientific results since so much time is spent in "just living." Since it is lengthy, it is expensive, but the expense can be lessened if the location is reasonably close to the field worker's home base.

Of the nine principal field workers, four were graduate students at the University of North Carolina and one was a faculty member there. These received research assistantships and grants-in-aid in support of their research. Of three more, two were graduate students at the University of Pennsylvania, and one was a candidate for the Ph.D. at Harvard. These received either grants-in-aid or indirect support in the form of free living quarters, etc. The ninth field worker was hired as a research associate in the Institute for Research in Social Science.

As an academic device, the Laboratory was obviously of assistance to other institutions besides the University of North Carolina; but although this may appear to have been somewhat of a limitation on the first general purpose of the Laboratory, it was most decidedly advantageous to the second.

2. Besides the director and acting field director, who were both professional anthropologists, five of the principal field workers were anthropology students, and two were professional anthropologists in every sense except in not yet having their doctorates. One field worker was a professional psychiatrist with a strong interest in anthropology, and another was a sociology graduate student minoring in anthropology.

This emphasis on one discipline among the several behavioral sciences by no means resulted in a generally similar point of view toward the field situation. Anthropology contains a number of specialties and sub-disciplines, and, partly at the instance of the director, these were well represented in the group. Interests in the fields of social organization and culture-in-personality were primary among several of the anthropologists, and each was augmented by the participation of the sociology student and the psychiatrist. All of the anthropologists were aware of the importance of basic ethnographic description. All were alert to the pervasive context of culture

change and acculturation in which they were working; and in three cases this alertness was focused on special interests in the general area of applied anthropology, with particular reference to community development, preventive medicine and health education. One participant brought to the project insights developed from wide experience in American Indian cultures generally and from having been brought up in Cherokee culture. Originally, several participants, who were primarily oriented toward the contemporary scene, found it necessary to investigate and clarify various aspects of Cherokee cultural history by means of documentary research.

This review does not exhaust the subfields of anthropology. Many of them could not effectively be represented. Others were represented only partially, and there was a certain amount of duplication and convergence among the participants. On the other hand, however, the coverage was broad and intensive enough to elucidate many facets of Cherokee culture and to raise important theoretical issues in regard to the interpretation of some of them.

3. The preliminary phase of the project during 1955-56 included conferences between the director and many individuals who were or who had been connected with the Cherokees, including some members of the Eastern Band itself. One of the facts that emerged from these discussions was that many people had "done studies" of the Eastern Cherokees but that "not much has come of any of them," as one official of the Band rather drily put it. His meaning was rather clear that not only had the many problems of the Band not been helped by the studies but that in many cases the results of the studies had never even been made available. We shall deal later with the question of scholarly studies as means to the solution of social problems.

A survey of the literature on the Cherokees confirmed the impression of much interest with disappointingly meager results. The published material, consisting of books, chapters in books, articles, and pamphlets, is voluminous; yet most of it is of little or no use in ascertaining what the Cherokees are really like as people, now, or at various periods in the past. Those items which are

useful for this purpose are fragmentary, so that from the literature one gains only partial glimpses of Cherokee culture, never a fully rounded picture, at various periods of their history. This limitation applies to the publications of several anthropologists who have studied Eastern Cherokee culture, beginning with James Mooney in the 1880's. The interests of these men lay largely in recording aspects of Cherokee religious and medicinal lore, but typically, Mooney, who knew the Cherokees intimately for 40 years, never described in detail the general ways of life of the Cherokees as he experienced them. Long after the preliminary phase of the project, it was discovered that a considerable number of serious studies, some of them very close to the major concerns of the project, have been done recently, but these are scattered among several university libraries in the form of unpublished theses and dissertations.

By early spring in 1956, it had become clear that the primary specific objective of the Laboratory should be to gather information which would make possible a thorough descriptive analysis of present-day Eastern Cherokee culture as a whole. Since the basic plan is on record,<sup>1</sup> and since the main body of this monograph is concerned with its outcome, there is no need to discuss it here in detail. Under the circumstances, the following quotation should suffice:

"After careful consideration, two of the six townships on the Reservation were selected as sites for the intensive research. This selection implies neither that research in other townships will necessarily never be undertaken nor that Reservation-wide affairs as they affect the selected communities will be ignored. Rather, it is felt to be the only means whereby the 'depth-data' essential to behavioral science can be obtained.

"One of the selected townships is not on a paved highway and is therefore not directly touched by the tourist trade except insofar as many of its inhabitants have tourist-serving jobs elsewhere on the Reservation during the summer. This township has a local reputation for

<sup>1</sup>Gulick, John, Preliminary Plan for Research on the Cherokee Indian Reservation. Mimeographed memorandum, Institute for Research in Social Science, Chapel Hill, March, 1956.

being extremely conservative. The physical headquarters of the Laboratory have been established here. The other township is located on a paved highway, boasts several motels and tourist shops, and has a reputation for being progressive in contrast to conservative. Actually, it appears that there are conservative and progressive individuals in both communities, but it may well be that they occur in significantly different proportions.

"For each township, a multi-factorial and necessarily multidisciplinary study is envisaged. In other words, the aim is to elucidate the whole culture of each township by doing research on all the major behavioral categories which have been isolated by the various behavioral sciences. These major categories (each with several subdivisions) include ecology, social organization, enculturation, and personality development, ethos and modal personality patterns, and acculturation (as a specific focus though the problem appears in all the other categories).

"Within this coordinated, yet broad and flexible scheme, participants will be free to pick their own specialized topics and to design their own research procedures. It will be asked of each one only that he keep the 'whole culture' context of his topic constantly in mind, so that he will be on the alert for material which will be of use to others as well as himself. Copies of the field notes, reports, and other materials produced by each participant will be placed in the central files of the Laboratory. Here, free access may be had by any other participant. This procedure should facilitate the eventual writing of monographs integrating different types of data. It should be emphasized, however, that special care will be taken to insure that this pooling technique will not in any way destroy the integrity of each participant's research nor prevent him from publishing his own findings in the way he chooses."<sup>2</sup>

Since the entire reservation population could not possibly be studied satisfactorily by the participant observer technique, meaningful samples had to be selected, and these presented

<sup>2</sup>Gulick, John, "The Cherokee Project: an Experiment in Cross-Cultural and Cross-Disciplinary Research," *Research Previews IV* (May, 1956), 10-15.

themselves in the form of the constituent townships, two of which, contrasting in various important ways, were selected.

The hope of completing studies of matching extent and depth in both townships was not realized; but the less studied township of the two did receive one type of thorough attention which brought out certain aspects of the general cultural situation which were not made so clear through research in the more studied one. Although this disparity in coverage did leave some regrettable gaps, it did not, we believe, constitute a major defect in the project. The emergent fact that significant differences among the Cherokees are not neatly delineated on township lines meant that although the township-bounded studies were indispensable as starting points and for providing control data on about one third of the reservation's population, it became unnecessary to pursue them rigidly. They were, in fact, supplemented by several lines of investigation which were not specifically defined in terms of township.

In addition to studies of contemporary Eastern Cherokee culture, research on their cultural history was carried much further than was originally envisaged. This was undertaken not in order to reconstruct the past for its own sake but in order to throw more light on the causes of certain present-day conditions.

Included in this Appendix is a list of papers which, as of January 1, 1960, have been produced by participants in the Cross-Cultural Laboratory. Within two years, three doctoral dissertations should be added to it. It is hoped that a greater number of publications will result from the work done, publications which will refine in greater detail and with more precision various issues raised in this monograph or will go well beyond them.

Woven into the fabric of Eastern Cherokee culture are a number of pressing social problems. The majority of Cherokees are concerned in one way or another with these problems, while to officials of the Band and to other persons who are actively involved in its affairs, they are of primary importance. Notable among them are:

1. Qualifications for membership in the Band.
2. Privileges which should be accorded to, and obligations which should be required of, persons and organizations exterior to the Band which have interests (mostly commercial) on the reservation.



3. Disposition to the best public advantage of tribal revenues.
4. The alleviation of wide-spread poverty and its attendant problems.
5. Land use and land tenure.

To a large extent, basically similar problems are found on most other Indian reservations; but in this case, as in each of the others, there are special, local issues. Behind all cases lies the history of defeat and displacement of the Indians by the whites and the subsequent impingement of the culture of the latter upon those of the former. One of the special local issues among the Eastern Cherokees centers around the widespread belief that the United States Government intends to terminate their reservation status as soon as possible.

Among the Eastern Cherokees and those involved in their affairs, the above problems are mostly viewed in terms of a larger number of more specific issues which are sometimes clear-cut but are often confused by rumors, misunderstandings, and prejudices. In regard to nearly every one of them there are strong differences of opinion which crystallize into a state involving bitterly opposed individuals and groups, especially at the time of elections for tribal offices, but by no means only at these times.

Something could probably be gained by the thorough and objective study of these problems as such, but the studying organization would probably have to be granted some kind of formal authority which had been approved by all the parties locked in controversy. If it were not granted such authority, its work would soon be impeded, perhaps brought to a standstill, by accusations from all quarters that it was "taking sides."

The Cross-Cultural Laboratory was not intended to be an organization of this kind, and no attempt was ever made to convert it into one. To the extent that the Cherokees' problems have roots in their "ecology, social organization, enculturation and personality patterns, and acculturation," the problems were studied, but only to this extent, only in the total context of the Cherokee way of life. It is to this extent only, therefore, that they appear in this monograph.

People who are involved in social problems have a tendency to blame them on some circumstance, person, or group of persons. They usually feel, with considerable emotion, that all the problem needs for solution is some simple change in policy or

action coupled with the "exposure," punishment, or removal of those persons responsible for the problems. All problems do indeed have causes, though many of these may lie far back in the past; and the causes include human actions.

The present problems of the Cherokees have many causes, most of which go far back into the past; and no one can be sure in many cases which of the human errors involved have been premeditated and which have, through lack of understanding, been unwitting and unintended. Complex in origin and at present interrelated with other problems, none of them has a simple, key solution. Any intelligent recommendations for solution which could be made would be in the form of predicting that if *several* types of action were taken, at the same time or in some special order, then the desired solution would be in sight *if* action had also been undertaken to solve some other problem or problems.

A series of such predictive recommendations will not be constructed by the Cross-Cultural Laboratory because:

1. They would be expressed in the form of contingencies and probabilities, not certainties; therefore they should be made only by those authorized to do so or, better still, by those who would be responsible for carrying them out and living with the consequences.
2. All the solutions which are eventually worked out for the Cherokees' problems will depend, first of all, on an increased knowledge and understanding of the attitudes and values of the people concerned.

The Cross-Cultural Laboratory's research has attempted to increase such knowledge. Among behavioral scientists, the findings of the research are in themselves the primary value and the sufficient justification of the effort. For others, the practical value of the research will depend on the extent to which they can use the knowledge to help themselves achieve increased understanding and, thereby, to discover more promising avenues to solution.

PARTICIPANTS IN THE CHEROKEE PROJECT,  
CROSS-CULTURAL LABORATORY, 1955-59.  
JOHN GULICK, DIRECTOR.

E. Pendleton Banks	Acting Field Director, August 1957.
Hester A. Davis	Field Work: Summer, 1956, Autumn 1956.
Raymond D. Fogelson	Field Work: Summer 1957, December 1957, Summer 1958.
Annie Cofield Gardner	Field Work: Summer 1957.
John L. Grant	Field Work: Summer 1956, Winter 1957.
Charles H. Holzinger	Field Work: Summer 1956, 1957, 1958; December 1957.
Harriet J. Kupferer	Field Work: Spring 1958.
R. Paul Kutsche, Jr.	Field Work: Summer 1956, 1957, 1958.
J. Earl Somers	Field Work: July 1957, Autumn 1957.
Robert K. Thomas	Field Work: September 1957 through June 1958.

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